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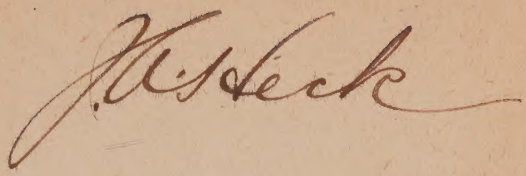

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IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

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HANDBOOKS OF ETHICS AND RELIGION

HOW THE BIBLE GREW

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HOW THE BIBLE GREW

THE STORY AS TOLD BY THE BOOK
AND ITS KEEPERS

By

FRANK GRANT LEWIS, PH. D.

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PREFACE

We have inherited the Bible from a distant past, and many of us have had little opportunity to learn how the inheritance came. We grew up with the Bible frequently in hand and felt its benefit before we knew it to be an inheritance. Because it has helped us we have come to love it.

As the Bible has been an aid, and frequently a comfort, we have learned to revere it. The larger the amount of aid received, the larger has become the reverence. This reverence has often been increased, unconsciously perhaps, by the fact that we knew so little concerning the history of the book. One of the natural elements of reverence is mystery, and we have found, from our very first questions about the Bible, that it is a book of great mystery, mysterious in its contents, mysterious as to the way in which it came to our parents and to us.

Along with our use of the Bible we have received the training of the schools, and some of us have been to college, or to a university. As a part of this training there has come a study of astronomy, geology, and other sciences. Somewhere in these scientific studies it has dawned upon us, perhaps even startled us, that our science and our Bible seem not to agree. We recalled that the Bible tells of a day when the sun stood still; the astronomy we were studying had no place for such an event. The Bible appears to make our world only some 6,000 years old; geology indicates that the real

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age of the earth is hundreds of thousands, or even millions, of years. Other similar questions have sometimes given trouble.

Thus a time has come when one does not know how to do without the Bible, for it is the foundation of religious life, the guidebook for Christian living; and he does not know what to do with the Bible, for it appears to be in conflict with things which are taken for granted in the ordinary affairs of life today.

As we have gone farther in thought on the questions which arise, we have become aware that in the Old Testament especially there are customs, such as vengeance for wrongdoing, war, polygamy, which are approved, but we shrink from accepting the approval. We have preserved a reverence for the Bible, and at the same time there is the beginning of distrust concerning it.

The difficulty lies in the fact that the history of the Bible is not known, and especially that the Bible itself has not been given a proper opportunity to tell its own story of how it came into existence, of how it came to be the Bible. There has been too much effort on the part of teachers to talk about the Bible rather than to let the Bible talk for itself; there has been far too much enterprise in preparing theories into which to fit the Bible, and far too little endeavor to gather the facts in the Bible which show its growth, and then let the explanation of the Bible come out of the facts.

There is ample room then, even at this late day, for a history of the Bible which permits the book itself and its keepers through the ages to tell the story of its origin. Such is the aim of this volume. For the writer the kind of study here pursued has been invaluable, and he has

found it so for others. While it has taken away a certain kind of reverence, which, after all, was merely a sort of superstition, it has given the Bible a worth and power which it could not possess before. In exchange for superficial sacredness there has been given knowledge, light, and strength.

The reader will observe that I do not deal with the question of inspiration, nor with that of Bible authority. This leaves the way free to cherish any theory of inspiration which appeals, and to accept any kind and degree of authority that seem good, after the data of Bible growth have been duly considered. It will be natural, I think, to find that the facts of the scripture message and their personal worth in experience are more valuable than any theory of inspiration. Each person may have his own theory, or no theory, and freely allow the same privilege to others. The question of authority also may become an inquiry into the lessons to be learned from the Bible material and their applicability to experience, and the outcome may be nobility of life rather than divisive arguments, with a higher type of authority for the Bible than it has yet known.

I wish to record my obligation to Professor J. M. Powis Smith, of the University of Chicago, who read the manuscript and gave me kind and valuable suggestions concerning my discussion of the Pentateuch in the days of Ezra, the Book of Jashar, the name Jehovah, the Book of Daniel, and the Book of Jeremiah. But he must not be held responsible of course for the language of even the eight or ten paragraphs affected.

FRANK GRANT LEWIS

CHESTER, PA.
March 12, 1919

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CHAPTER I

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

I wish to learn about the growth of a flower. In the springtime, when the new rays of the sun have warmed the soil and the fresh showers have brought new vitality, I plant the seed, watch for it to germinate, and observe how the blade of green increases to the stalk, the branches in due time appear, the buds follow, the full flower opens, and the mature seed completes the cycle of life. If I am a scientist, this study of the flower development has furnished opportunity to discover the scientific meaning of all that the growth of the flower reveals. If I am a naturalist, and especially a lover of flowers, day by day the beauty and glory of the unfolding life have been a source of charm and deep satisfaction.

My home is near a great river, where its gathered waters spread out into the vast ocean. In childhood I simply see the water, or am impressed with its expanse and shrink from its mysteries. When youth arrives, I begin to wonder what the river means, whence its waters come, and what there is in the stream beyond the part I have seen. As I become more thoughtful and ask from my parents and older friends about the upper waters of the great stream, there arises a curiosity to visit the sources of the river and see how, from the smaller streams of which I have heard, there grows the mighty current which day after day I have seen move by my home and out into the boundless sea beyond. If

this wish should be gratified, and I should travel toward the upper waters, I should notice each branch as it enters the main stream, should perhaps follow some of these branches to their beginnings and learn how each in turn is itself made up of various smaller branches, and, if I journeyed far enough, should finally reach the source of the main brook far up the mountain side. Even then, however, I might not have seen every source of the great river, for some of those sources are hidden springs, sharing their living fountains with those more readily seen and being thus as truly a part of the great river as those which my eye caught at once.

The growth of the Bible is like that of the river rather than like that of the flower. As I sow the seed and watch the unfolding of the flower life, so I should delight to sow again the seed of the life of Scripture and observe how the many branches of that life have shaped themselves and entered into the book as a whole. That, however, cannot be done. The Scripture growth is unique, the only one of its kind, and it cannot be repeated. As my home is by the fulness of the river, so I have been born and my days have been lived by the completed Bible. The only way to learn the sources of the sacred volume is patiently to trace my way back along the literary currents out of which it arose, until I reach the upper waters of the early life of the people through whom the writings came. And even then I am likely to have overlooked some of the most important of the hidden fountains from which sprang the biblical life that has become a part of mine. I must at least be ready to recognize that such fountains have entered into the Bible, whether I discover them or not.

In the New Testament we are beside the mighty currents of literary life which combined to furnish the Book of Books. Among these currents we are certain to find important traces of the earlier streams of literary life, and these may very well suggest how we are to retrace the lines of growth through which the Bible has arisen. Let us turn directly to the New Testament.

Even if we begin with the opening of the gospel in Matthew we shall not read far before we find a reference to the Law and the Prophets. Among such references will be that in the familiar verse which we call the Golden Rule, Matt. 7:12, "All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them: for this is the law and the prophets."

When we first read the gospel story we probably never asked what Jesus referred to when he spoke of the Law and the Prophets. Later, when that question did arise, it was natural for us to think of the Law as the first five books of the Old Testament, and to assume that the Prophets referred to Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Twelve that we had learned to call the Minor Prophets. Unless someone has told us differently, or we ourselves have had exceptional opportunity to revise that thought, it is still the one which controls when we read of the Law and the Prophets. To be sure of this, one has only to ask himself, or a Sunday-school class, or a body of students, even those entering a theological seminary, what Jesus referred to when he spoke of the Law and the Prophets, for the reply is almost invariably such as that I have mentioned.

Now, however, when the correctness of such answers is questioned we are ready to ask about the reference again and learn in what respects it is wrong.

Law = Pentateuch.

Let me hasten then to offer reassurance, in part at least; for the reply is correct as far as the Law is concerned. Beyond that perhaps the question will be best answered if we approach the inquiry along a path of comparison.

If I should say to you, "All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them: for this is the Old Testament and the New Testament," you would at once understand that in mentioning the Old Testament and the New Testament I was referring to two collections of sacred writings which together we call the Bible.

So it was in the days of Jesus and the apostles. So it was, in fact, for all Jews and for any others who knew the Israelitish writings in the days which we call apostolic. So it is indeed at the present time for those who have come to understand the language of Jesus and Paul and others as it is before us in the New Testament. The Law was one collection of Israelitish writings; the Prophets was another collection.

2 collections of Jewish writings.

It is an easy matter for one to see this for himself today. He has only to look into a copy of the Hebrew Bible and find the evidence. This Hebrew Bible, if one does not already possess it, may be purchased through the local bookseller, or may be found in a well-ordered library ready for reference use, or will be among the familiar volumes at the home of a Jewish friend. And this friend will be more than pleased to open the book and explain the order of the Law and the Prophets as they stand.

Consult Hebrew Bible

For any who are not acquainted with the Hebrew language, or are not interested in receiving the information through others, or live in a community where none of the sons of Israel happen to make their home, or desire to have the material easy of access at any time for themselves, there is now a happy solution of the question for only slight trouble or expense. This solution is found in an English translation of the Hebrew scriptures, made by English-speaking Israelites in a form so similar to the ordinary English Bible that the reader will hardly be aware of the real character of the volume in his hand until he has begun to examine its contents. This important and useful volume was published in 1917, at Philadelphia, by the Jewish Publication Society, with the title, *The Holy Scriptures According to the Masoretic Text; a New Translation.*

The Masoretic text is the ordinary standard edition of the Hebrew Bible. In the new translation just mentioned this text is faithfully reproduced in an English dress, the Hebrew divisions, the order of the books, the titles, and other distinctively Jewish features being preserved, some of these in the Hebrew characters accompanied with English equivalents explaining their meaning. It is a volume, accordingly, that anyone interested in the Old Testament may well have for himself and thus become familiar with the Bible as it was arranged in the early days, and as it has come down through the centuries, the only change being that it is carried over from the original Hebrew language into familiar and pleasing English.

Acquaintance with this English translation of the Hebrew Bible, or with the Hebrew Bible itself, if one

cares for the original language of the Old Testament, is both interesting and valuable. The acquaintance reveals that the full title of the Israelitish scriptures is significant, carrying us beyond the Law and the Prophets. One does well, first, to note merely a transliteration. This, as nearly as it may be reproduced in English characters, is *Torah, Nebiim u-Kethubim* (pronounced torah, nevee-eem oo-kethoo-veem). When it is translated into English, we have "Law, Prophets, and Writings." We do well to remember, however, however, that the term "Law" in this title means not so much legislation, or statute, as teaching, or instruction, or information.

We have seen above that each of the first two terms of this title refers to a separate and distinct collection of writings, as does also the third; so that the Bible of Israel is composed of three parts, each a carefully limited collection of sacred books. We shall be aided, therefore, if we notice what is included in each collection, as the names of the several books in each of the three divisions of the Hebrew volume inform us.

As already mentioned, the books included in the Law are those we have long known as composing the Pentateuch, and their names are familiar: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

When, however, we turn farther the leaves of the Hebrew Bible or the English translation to ascertain the names of the books which are included in the Prophets, the list is quite other than familiar, for the names which appear are: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve, this last being the brief and inclusive title for the twelve Minor Prophets regarded as a single book. All together, therefore, the

Prophets is a collection of eight writings, all of Samuel being treated as a single book, and all of Kings held in like form ordinarily, though in some editions of the Hebrew and in the English translation mentioned above these two books are divided as in our ordinary Christian translations of the Old Testament.

As we observe the Prophets further we find that the eight books are separated into two subdivisions; Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings are called the "earlier prophets," and Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve are grouped together as the "later prophets." Just why the Twelve were brought together and regarded as a single book is not evident. Apparently the number twelve had come to signify some idea of completeness, so that the twelve smaller prophetical writings together made a prophetical whole. Possibly there is more significance in the fact that these twelve briefer writings together furnished the material for a manuscript roll nearly equivalent to one of the longer prophetical books, such as Isaiah, or Jeremiah, or Ezekiel. The combining of the twelve writings under one name may have been brought about to some extent also by the thought that it would be appropriate to have in the second division of the Prophets a fourth book corresponding to the fourth book of the first division, thus making the "later prophets" equal in number to the "earlier prophets."

The titles of the books included in the Writings are equally interesting, for we read: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles, altogether eleven in number.

Such then are the three divisions of the Hebrew Bible, our ordinary Old Testament, and the names of the several books of each division as they commonly appear in the Hebrew Scriptures. I say "as they commonly appear," for, while there are always three divisions of the Scriptures, and the total number of books within each division always remains the same, the order of the books within the second part of the second division sometimes varies, and the same is true of the books within the third division. In the second part of the second division, for example, Isaiah does not always have the first place; in the third division Psalms sometimes yields the position of honor, and other variations occur. The lists as I have given them, however, are the ordinary ones and are convenient to remember, if one desires to have the order of the books at immediate call, as we frequently memorize the names of the books in the English Bible. For our purpose in this study, however, it is most important to keep in mind that there are three divisions in the Hebrew Bible, and particularly to remember that the Prophets, as referred to by Jesus and Paul, are the eight books in the preceding list beginning with Joshua.

We are now ready to take another important step. We shall take it most easily if we recall how often in reading the New Testament we find a reference to the Law alone, for example, Matt. 5:18, "One jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law"; Luke 2:23, "As it is written in the law of the Lord"; Rom. 2:23, "Thou who gloriest in the law." With this put the easily observed fact that the phrase "the Law and the Prophets" is much less common, occurring altogether only some fifteen times (Matt. 5:17; 7:12; 11:13;

22:40; Luke 16:16, 29, 31; 24:27, 44; John 1:45; Acts 13:15; 24:14; 26:22; 28:23; Rom. 3:21), the Prophets alone being mentioned about as often (Matt. 26:56; Luke 18:31; 24:25; John 6:45; Acts 3:18, 21, 24; 7:48; 10:43; 13:27, 40; 15:15; 26:27; Heb. 1:1).

The step we take then is one to bring us where we can see, from the above-mentioned proportions of the different classes of references, that the Law was, for the New Testament writers, the most important portion of the Jewish Scriptures. The same fact may be seen in another way. In the New Testament as a whole there are somewhat more than one thousand references to the Old Testament books. Of these, nearly three hundred are to the Law and less than five hundred to all the Prophets, with about two hundred to the Psalms, nearly seventy to the Book of Daniel, and only scattering allusions to all the other books, namely, the nine of the Writings besides Psalms and Daniel.

In short, the Bible of the New Testament times was practically the Law, the Prophets, the Psalms, and the Book of Daniel. This needs to be modified perhaps by saying that the Psalms was rather a hymn book of the early Christians, quoted much as a preacher of today uses our hymns, though often with somewhat greater authority than that with which our hymns are employed. Perhaps the most striking fact in the proportion of references used is the large number of times Daniel is quoted. That disproportion takes a new meaning, however, as soon as we become aware that more than two-thirds of the nearly seventy quotations from Daniel are made in the single Book of Revelation, which raises interesting questions.

Reserving those questions, however, for a later page, and holding ourselves now close to the great current of sacred literary thought called the Law and the Prophets, let us discover where it leads and the opening of sources which it brings.

CHAPTER II

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE TIME OF JESUS, SON OF SIRACH

(About 200 B.C.)

We turn the leaves of our Bible until we are back to that portion of the Old Testament called the Apocrypha, and particularly to the book called Ecclesiasticus, or, by the longer title, the Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach. Many of the more recently printed Bibles omit the Apocrypha and so do not contain this very valuable book, but it may be found in almost any of the older editions, or may be secured as a separate volume with the title *The Apocrypha Translated out of the Greek and Latin Tongues*, and published by the University Press at Oxford.

In the Prologue to this Book of Ecclesiasticus, which was written by the grandson of the author of the book itself, we read the following important and suggestive language:

> Whereas many and great things have been delivered unto us by the law and the prophets, and by the others that have followed in their steps . . . . my grandfather Jesus, having much given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and the other books of our fathers, and having gained great familiarity therein, was drawn also himself to write somewhat pertaining to instruction and wisdom. . . . . You are intreated therefore to read with favor and attention, and to pardon us, if in any parts of what we have labored to interpret, we may seem to fail in some of the phrases. For things originally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force in them, when they are translated into another tongue:

and not only these, but the law itself, and the prophecies, and the rest of the books, have no small difference, when they are spoken in their original language. For having come into Egypt in the eight and thirtieth year of Euergetes the king, and having continued there some time, I found a copy affording no small instruction. I thought it therefore most necessary for me to apply some diligence and travail to interpret this book: applying indeed much watchfulness and skill in that space of time to bring the book to an end, and set it forth for them also, who in the land of their sojourning are desirous to learn, fashioning their manners beforehand, so as to live according to the law.

I have quoted this Prologue nearly entire, in order that its important information may easily be considered. Two or three things furnished by the Prologue and bearing on the history of the Old Testament stand out with special prominence. We want to give them attention at once.

In the first place, we observe that the writer refers three different times to the sacred writings used by his grandfather, and that in each of the three references the first part of the language is the same, or essentially the same; in each instance he speaks of the Law and the Prophets, or, varying his term in the third reference, of the Prophecies, which is manifestly equivalent to the Prophets. To this extent his language is the same as that of the New Testament. From it we see that the two collections of writings which were the main portion of the Israelitish Scriptures in the days of Jesus and Paul were likewise definite collections some two centuries before Jesus and Paul were born. It is not strange, therefore, indeed it is most natural, to find the writers of the New Testament regularly using these terms in referring to their Scriptures and using them with perfect

definiteness. The Law and the Prophets were as definite and specific to Jews of the apostolic times as the Old Testament and the New Testament are to us.

2. References to other writings

A second point is perhaps even more interesting. It is the fact that the writer of this Prologue, in each of the three references he makes to the Law and the Prophets, adds a reference to some other writings which he seems to regard in the same manner in which he regarded the Law and the Prophets, but for which he had no single name or title, since his phrase in each of the three instances is different. He first speaks of these writings, or their authors, as "the others that have followed in their steps," that is, in the steps of the writers of the Law and the Prophets. In his second reference he varies the phrase to "the other books of our fathers," that is, in addition to the Law and the Prophets. And in the third case he merely mentions "the rest of the books." He was familiar then with a considerable collection of sacred writings for which he had no single title.

This reference to a third collection of sacred books is of interest because the completed volume of Israelitish Scriptures, as we have already noted, has a title showing three divisions, Law, Prophets, and Writings, the title of the third division remaining, even to the present, without any such specific name as either the Law or the Prophets, which so happily designate the first and second divisions. Whether the Writings of the present Hebrew Bible are the same books as those referred to by the writer of the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus perhaps we cannot say; at least we shall do better not to undertake to say this at present. That some of the books are the same, however, there need be little doubt.

It is worth while noting also that the writer of the Prologue, though he was careful to mention each time each of the three collections of sacred writings, appears to have had a peculiar regard for the Law. This is brought out at the close of the Prologue, where he says he undertook the important task of translating the work of his grandfather in order that his readers might learn "to live according to the law," leaving the impression, without doubt, that the Law was of pre-eminent import. The same idea is revealed in one of the sentences of the Prologue which I have omitted in the quotation. This special regard for the Law corresponds to the distinction accorded the Law in the New Testament. To live according to the Law not improbably would have been assumed to include living according to the Prophets and the other writings.

We observe also that the writer of the Prologue definitely dates the time when he went to Egypt and began to give attention to his important task; it was in "the eight and thirtieth year of Euergetes the king," that is, Euergetes II, an honorary title of Ptolemy IX, whose thirty-eighth year was about 132 B.C. From this it is easy to see that the grandfather of the writer of the Prologue lived about two hundred years before the birth of Jesus, and that some two centuries before the beginning of our Christian Era the Old Testament, among the Israelites in Egypt, consisted of the Law, or our Pentateuch, the Prophets, and at least several other books which were held in similar esteem.

Considering what we have gathered up to the present, it will be seen that the Jews in Egypt accepted a larger number of writings as sacred than did their brothers in

Palestine. This is particularly evident when we remember that a third division of the Old Testament was already recognized in Egypt some two centuries before the time of Jesus and Paul, while no such recognition appears in the New Testament; the nearest approach to it is in Luke 24:44, where the evangelist quotes Jesus as speaking of the things which were written "in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the Psalms." Since the Psalms frequently had the first place in the third division of the Hebrew Bible, these words of Jesus may be a reference to the entire third division, the Writings. The reference may be only to the Book of Psalms, however. Perhaps this is more likely to have been the intention, since, as we have seen in chapter i, only the Psalms and Daniel, among the books of the third division, received any considerable recognition from the New Testament writers.

The acceptance of a larger number of books by the Jews in Egypt at once suggests the possibility of an attractive inquiry. For the present, however, it may be sufficient to remember that Egypt had come more under the influence of liberal Greek thought than Palestine had, and that the Egyptian Jews naturally responded to a wider circle of sacred writings. Particularly would they find satisfaction in books written by their Egyptian brothers, while their brothers in Palestine easily depreciated any writings which originated beyond the borders of the ancient home of the nation.

In the time of Jesus, son of Sirach, then, some two hundred years before the beginning of the Christian Era, the Old Testament, among the Jews in Palestine, consisted primarily, if not altogether, of the Law and the

Prophets, while in Egypt other books, apparently several in number, were attaining a dignity akin to that bestowed on the Law and the Prophets in both Palestine and Egypt. Having thus retraced the course of the stream of Israelitish sacred thought back through the book itself to about 200 B.C., our next step will be to follow farther along the main current for any discoveries it will furnish.

CHAPTER III

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE TIME OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH

(About 450 B.C.)

As we are fortunate in possessing the Book of Ecclesiasticus, with its informing Prologue, so we are favored by the Book of Nehemiah for the period some two and one-half centuries earlier, when Ezra and his colaborer were leaders in the efforts to restore the sons of Israel to the home of their fathers. As in our study thus far we have gathered information from the Bible itself to show what the sacred collection was in the periods considered, so now we shall be best aided if we pursue the same method.

The important passage in Nehemiah begins with the eighth chapter, or, as paragraphed in the Revised Version, with the latter part of verse 73 of the seventh chapter. There we are told that in the seventh month of the Jewish year, that is, in the autumn, the people assembled for the reading of the Law. The reading of the first day was only a beginning of the presentation of the book which was placed before the people, translated from the Hebrew into the Aramaic language, which had become their form of speech in Babylon, and was explained to them so that they could understand. This makes evident that the Law at that time was an extensive writing.

On the second day the reading was continued (8:13). Some time during that day the readers came to the portion of the Law in which was given an account of the feast of booths. The language is so specific that we can infer from it with certainty where in our Pentateuch they were reading. It was in what we call the twenty-third chapter of the Book of Leviticus. We may see this easily from the following parallel arrangement of the two passages. In the first we have the language of Leviticus; in the second is given the account of the reading.

LEV. 23:42	NEH. 8:14
Ye shall dwell in booths seven days; all that are home-born in Israel shall dwell in booths;	And they found written in the law, how that Jehovah had commanded by Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month;

A reading of the context of both quotations will reveal various details which confirm the reference of Nehemiah to Leviticus. The situation is one to stimulate the historical imagination. As we read the language we can easily picture the scene and portray for ourselves Ezra and his associates as they read to those who gathered about them to learn what was written in the Law.

While a comparison of the preceding passages presents one of the most striking evidences of the relation between the Law and the use of it which was made by Ezra and those with him, there are other passages which indicate the same conclusion, and it is worth while to carry the comparison farther. Note, for example, how a state-

ment in Deuteronomy and one in Numbers were obeyed, as we are told by a verse in Nehemiah:

DEUT. 31:10–11

At the end of every seven years . . . . in the feast of tabernacles . . . . thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing.

NUM. 29:35

On the eighth day we shall have a solemn assembly: ye shall do no servile work;

NEH. 8:18

Also day by day, from the first day unto the last day, he read in the book of the law of God. And they kept the feast seven days; and on the eighth day was a solemn assembly, according unto the ordinance.

With references in Nehemiah to the passages from Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy just given, it is helpful to place one from Genesis dealing with the life of Abram, as these quotations will show:

GEN. 12:1

Now Jehovah said unto Abram, get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred,

NEH. 9:7

Thou art Jehovah the God, who didst choose Abram, and broughtest him forth out of Ur of the Chaldees,

The language makes clear that the statement in Nehemiah grew out of a recollection of the words from Genesis.

It is easy also to find a similar correspondence between Exodus and Nehemiah, as appears from these two quotations:

EXOD. 13:21

And Jehovah went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light; that they might go by day and by night.

NEH. 9:12

Moreover in a pillar of cloud thou leddest them by day; and in a pillar of fire by night, to give them light on the way wherein they should go.

While other language in Nehemiah referring clearly to the language of the first five books of our Old Testament might easily be given, the foregoing quotations are ample to illustrate how the Law of the days of Ezra assumes much at least of the Israelitish writings which we call the Pentateuch. The impression made by the parallels will be emphasized if each of the quotations is read with its context, and the fuller details are thus allowed opportunity to furnish their natural meaning and suggestion.

The reading of this Law seems to have required much of the seven days of the solemn gathering. This is clear from the record at the close of the eighth chapter; and it makes certain that the Law as read was an extended book, or consisted of writings which together amounted to what may have been equivalent to our Pentateuch.

Already in reading this graphic account of the presentation of the Law by Ezra and Nehemiah it may have been noticed that there is no mention of the Prophets. Though it was an occasion of the greatest religious import for the Israelites, one in which the majestic messages of the Prophets would have been exceedingly fitting, there is not a word in the narrative to recall the second division of the Hebrew Scriptures.

This does not mean necessarily that the writings which Jesus and Paul and the son of Sirach appealed to as the Prophets were not in existence in the time of Ezra. It suggests only that the Prophets had not yet come together into a recognized collection of sacred writings to be used as Ezra and his fellows used the Law. The Old Testament, when the sons of Israel returned from Babylonia to Palestine and solemnly subscribed to its

regulations as read and explained by their leaders, was limited, so far as the Nehemiah account advises, to the Law, an extensive collection of regulations and precepts which could not have been more than our Pentateuch and may have been only an earlier and briefer edition of the Law, or even only an extensive priestly source of it.

The "Law" of Nehemiah's day.

One other point at least in this narrative of Nehemiah ought not to be passed over without consideration. This is the fact that the reading of the Law brought to the people something which was altogether unfamiliar. Otherwise we should not read, as we do in Neh. 8:14, that they "found" certain things written in the Law which was being read, as a result of which they went for material with which to prepare booths (8:16) in accordance with the directions of the legislation of which they had just learned.

Important fact. certain things FOUND in the Law.

There is a temptation to inquire at once why the Law was new to the people, and how it came about that they and their ancestors had not been observing the rules which the Law prescribed. It will be better, however, to defer that inquiry till a later time, when we shall find the study less difficult and more fruitful.

Why part new?

Inquiry deferred.

Indeed now that we have retraced the development of the Bible until we have found ourselves beyond the mighty current which came to be called the Prophets and still bears that significant name, it will be to our advantage to turn aside for a moment from the main stream of scripture movement and growth that we may search for the sources of the Prophets and discover, as best we can, whence the prophetic writings came, how they originated, and possibly something concerning the

Whence the source of the prophets?

courses of events which produced the second division of the Scriptures of Israel. In the time of the son of Sirach this great branch of Scripture was a well-defined and clearly understood collection of writings, as we have seen. In the days of Ezra, two centuries earlier or more, the Prophets are not even referred to. It is worth our while to seek the development of literary events during that period. We naturally turn to the books of the Prophets themselves.

CHAPTER IV

SOURCES OF THE PROPHETS

In Joshua, the first book of the Prophets, occurs the well-known story according to which Joshua, the Israelitish leader, commanded the sun and the moon to stand still. The language, chapter 10:12–13, is so significant that it may well be quoted in full. It reads as follows:

> Then spake Joshua to Jehovah in the day when Jehovah delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel; and he said in the sight of Israel,
>
> Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
> And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.
> And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
> Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.
>
> Is not this written in the book of Jashar?

Poetical section.

Thus we are introduced to a source from which the writer of our Book of Joshua drew some of his material. He had before him a writing which bore the title "Jashar." The word itself is important. It means "straight," or "right," or "upright," as we say, or "righteous."

One source of Joshua Book of Jashar

The reader of our Revised Version observes also that the quotation from this Book of Jashar is poetry. Whether the entire book was poetical we may not conclude, but the portion here preserved for us is poetical. On the basis of this quotation we should be led to infer that the Book of Jashar was a poetical composition of notable incidents in the history of the Israelitish people.

What was this book?

It had been preserved and cherished until the time of the writing of our Book of Joshua.

Similarly advantageous for us in the study of the sources of the Prophets is the fact that there is preserved another quotation from the Book of Jashar. It is longer than that in Joshua, but its language is so informing that we need the verses in full. Let us turn therefore to II Sam. 1:17–27, where the poem as quoted, with its introduction by the author of Samuel, reads as follows:

Also from one source: "Song of the Bow"

2 Sam. 1:17-27

And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and over Jonathan his son (and he bade them teach the children of Judah the song of the bow: behold it is written in the book of Jashar):

Thy glory, O Israel, is slain upon thy high places!
How are the mighty fallen!
Tell it not in Gath,
Publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon;
Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,
Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.
Ye mountains of Gilboa,
Let there be no dew or rain upon you, neither fields of offerings:
For there the shield of the mighty was vilely cast away,
The shield of Saul, not anointed with oil.
From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty,
The bow of Jonathan turned not back,
And the sword of Saul returned not empty.

Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives,
And in their death they were not divided:
They were swifter than eagles,
They were stronger than lions.
Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul,
Who clothed you in scarlet delicately,
Who put ornaments of gold upon your apparel.

How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle!
Jonathan is slain upon thy high places.
I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan:
Very pleasant hast thou been unto me:
Thy love to me was wonderful,
Passing the love of women.
How are the mighty fallen,
And the weapons of war perished!

From the reading we observe at once some significant facts, the meaning of which it is useful to consider.

Since both the writer of Joshua and the writer of Samuel used the Book of Jashar as a source, it would seem as though both our Book of Joshua and that of Samuel are later than the Book of Jashar.

Since the second quotation from Jashar is a lament over the death of Saul and Jonathan, the composition of the Book of Jashar seems to have been later than the time of Saul and his son, and the Book of Joshua still later.

The language introducing the lament appears to carry us still farther, for the author of the Book of Samuel states that "David lamented" over Saul and Jonathan. To the author of Samuel then the days of David, as well as those of Saul and his son, were a period already past; and the material before us has the appearance of being composed as late as the close of the life of David. This would mean that the Book of Joshua was compiled after David had died.

While this conclusion is the natural one, it must not be pressed too far. The Book of Jashar itself may have been a growth of generations, like the entire Old Testament. If it was, the quotation in Josh. 10:12–13 may

have been relatively early and the lament over Saul and Jonathan much later. Conclusive evidence concerning the date of the Book of Joshua, therefore, must be sought elsewhere than in the quotation it contains from the Book of Jashar.

Fortunately the Book of Samuel includes other material which reveals something of the literary situation at the time of David. There are statements which indicate that the writing of annals, or chronicles, was a natural thing, and that these may well have become sources for the compilations which were made by later authors. These statements are found in II Sam. 8:16, 17 and 20:24, 25. In the former of these we read that, as a part of the organization of David's kingdom, "Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud was recorder," that is, an officer who kept a record of affairs, perhaps what we should call a chronicler, as the margin of the Revised Version proposes the alternative translation. As a part of the same political arrangement "Seraiah was scribe," that is, an official similar to the secretary with us who would preserve the events of the life of the king and his affairs in a more personal way. In 20:24, 25 a similar statement is made, except that the name of the "scribe" is Sheva. The records prepared by these officials would easily become, at a later time, the data for composing portions of such accounts as have come down to us in the Prophets.

There is one other phrase in the introduction to the second quotation from the Book of Jashar which ought to receive a moment of attention. It is in verse 18: "And he bade them teach the children of Judah the song of the bow." The term "Judah" in the time later than

the life of David most naturally belongs to the period after the division of the Israelitish nation following the death of Solomon; its use earlier would have been quite surprising. Apparently, therefore, the language of this account of the death of Saul and Jonathan indicates that the Book of Samuel was written after the kingdom of Judah had become separate and the use of the name Judah had become matter of fact.

Sam. after division of kingdom.

In the Book of Judges also we find suggestions of the use of sources. One of these instances is in the first chapter, verses 11 and 12. The author, in describing the career of Judah, relates that he went against the inhabitants of "Debir." The author is aware, however, that the source before him has as the name of that place "Kiriath-sepher," so he prepares his readers to understand the location by the use of a parenthesis, "Now the name of Debir beforetime was Kiriath-sepher"; and he then uses the source without changing the name, so that both of the names stand as a part of the text. In Judg. 7:1 there is a similar explanation of the name Jerubbaal as equivalent to Gideon.

Sources in Judges.

1:11, 12.

"Debir, beforetime was Kiriath-sepher"

7:1

The story of Deborah in the fourth and fifth chapters of Judges is familiar. The reader of the Revised Version has noted that, while chapter 4 is prose, the Song of Deborah in the fifth chapter, as this title itself implies, is in poetry. To the casual reader the relation of the song to the prose account in chapter 4 may not be apparent. If, however, one pauses thoughtfully in the reading of the fourth chapter he will discover that it contains a completed narrative of the event under discussion. Likewise in chapter 5 one finds a full account of the events, but here presented in the dress of poetry. The

Song of Deborah.

Chaps. 4 & 5 complete in themselves.

suggestion at once offers itself that the author of our Book of Judges had before him both a prose and a poetic account of the episode of Deborah, incorporated them, one following the other, in his narrative, and gave them the editorial setting which has remained until our time a story of the highest literary charm.

If now we turn to the fourth book of the Prophets, namely, our two Books of Kings as a single book, we may discover other traces of the composition of the work out of previously existing sources. For example, we read in I Kings 11:41, "Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts of Solomon?" The form of statement suggests that, while the account of Solomon's reign as given in our Book of Kings is somewhat full, there was a much more extended narrative in the book of the acts of Solomon, from which the author of Kings had made only excerpts. It is manifest also that the author of our Book of Kings was writing at a date some time later than the reign of the wise king.

In I Kings 14:29, 15:7 and 23 we find a reference to "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah." This source is likewise mentioned in II Kings 23:28. In I Kings 15:31 and 16:5 there are similar references to "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel." The form of phrase in each class of references is that which would be expected after there had been the lapse of sufficient time for each of the two kingdoms to write its own history, and for these histories to be used by the author of our Books of Kings. We are thus carried along to the period of the Babylonian exile as that out of

which "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel" and also "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah" arose; and only some time later than that would they be combined into the interwoven narrative preserved for us.

It does not follow from the foregoing, of course, that merely such sources as we have observed were combined to furnish the writings we possess. The source hints we have considered are only some that are obvious, apparent on the surface of the historical composition. There may be many other sources, hidden springs, as it were, yet contributing largely to the fulness of the scripture current. Traces of these we may find later. The important thing at present is to recognize how the "earlier prophets" were written by men who made free use of previous writings, some of which were poetry and others the result of the activities of annalist officials attached to the royal house and charged to preserve accounts of national or personal affairs. We should very much like to see those primitive documents, but we are fortunate in possessing so much of their contents in the later compilations.

When we turn to the "later prophets," Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve, we find traces of similar use of documentary sources. We might not expect this in the writings of the great prophetic leaders of Israel, yet the pages of these books make it easily seen.

In the Book of Isaiah there are various indications of the editorial work through which its pages have passed. For example, we may compare the title of the book (chap. 1:1) and the first verse of chapter 2 with

the language of the first verse of chapter 6. Here is the parallel they give:

Isa. 1:1	Isa. 6:1
The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah.	In the year that king Uzziah died I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up; and his train filled the temple.
Isa. 2:1	
The word that Isaiah the son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.	

In the first two passages we have the language of an editor, a later writer than the prophet, who is bringing together and arranging the messages which the prophet had spoken. In chapter 6 the prophet himself is speaking; his personality comes out with vividness and force through the personal pronoun "I," and we feel ourselves in his presence.

If the reader will compare 7:3 and 8:1 in a similar way he will see again the work of an editor and the language of the prophet himself. Other examples of the same kind might easily be given.

A somewhat different use of sources, more like that in the "earlier prophets," is to be found in 37:21, where we read, "Then Isaiah the son of Amoz sent unto Hezekiah, saying, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel," the opening words being those of the editor, followed by the beginning of the message which had been delivered by the prophet and is now combined with other messages into the book as it stands.

In 38:1, 9, and 21 we have three examples of somewhat the same type. The reader should examine them in the

context for himself. The fact that 38:10–20 is poetry, introduced by verse 9 as "the writing of Hezekiah the king of Judah, when he had been sick, and was recovered of his sickness," shows in a marked degree the similarity of the use of sources here and in the Book of Joshua, as we have considered above (p. 23).

The editorial work in the Book of Isaiah is revealed even more strikingly in the account of the mission of Cyrus, king of Persia, as described in chapters 44 and 45. To feel the full force of this one needs to re-read the historical narrative in chapter 39 and note the striking change in the form of thought and language as the reading proceeds to chapter 40, a change so abrupt and marked that one feels that he has passed, as evidently he has passed, from one class of writing to another entirely different. The entire situation has taken new form. We feel that there is no connection between the two chapters other than the mere collocation of two distinct works. The work of the editor, even if he were the prophet himself, has been nothing more than the placing of the diverse messages next to each other. One feels that more probably we have here two wholly distinct works which, for reasons which we do not now know, have been brought together into a single book.

When we arrive at chapter 44, accordingly, and find in the latter part of it (vs. 28) how Cyrus the king, who lived nearly two centuries after the prophet Isaiah, is pictured as the shepherd of Jehovah, and in 45:1 as the anointed of Jehovah, we are not so surprised. Our previous discovery that the Book of Isaiah as a whole is an editorial compilation has prepared us to see that the compiling may have occurred much later than the days

of the prophet Isaiah, that such prophetic messages as we have in the later chapters of this book may easily have been the divine voice of later prophets, unnamed in the writings, and that their messages were combined with those of the great preacher of the days of Hezekiah.

The editorial marks which we have observed in the Book of Isaiah are equally evident in the prophecy of Jeremiah. A clear instance is discernible in the opening verses of the first chapter, where the first verse is part of the title given to the book by the later hand of the editor, while verse 4 introduces us to the personal message from the prophet himself, and verses 11 and 13 are similar and typical affirmations with which he introduces other oracles. In 18:1 we find a further example of the editorial introduction, and in 18:5 of the prophetic message.

Chapter 25:13 gives additional evidence of a slightly different sort. In the midst of the prophet's message there is inserted the solemn declaration that "all that is written in this book, which Jeremiah hath prophesied against all the nations" will be brought to pass, a statement which obviously belongs to a time after the oracles of Jeremiah had been collected.

Perhaps the most suggestive material in the Book of Jeremiah, however, is contained in chapter 36. It is too extended to reproduce in full. One should turn to the book and read carefully the entire narrative. He will thus be impressed with the function of the prophet's amanuensis; and he will readily observe that the form of speech may have been largely influenced, particularly in the introductory and connective statements, by the

hand of the prophet's assistant rather than by the prophet himself. When with this obvious fact we place the traces of later editorial adjustment also, the way is open for understanding without difficulty how the book as it has come to us is the last stage in a series of natural changes. This result is especially marked in the case of the Book of Jeremiah for those who take occasion to compare our English version, or its Hebrew original, with the Greek translation as we have it in the Septuagint, or the English translation of the Septuagint. The Septuagint reveals a striking rearrangement of the material of the English version.

The Book of Jeremiah furnishes, in chapter 52:1–27, an opportunity beyond any other of the prophets for an unusual consideration of source material. This opportunity reveals itself if the student, with the foregoing passage before him, will turn to II Kings 24:18—25:21, where he will find the entire passage duplicated in almost the same words throughout. Such a duplication is of course no accident, nor is it a mere coincidence. Evidently both of the narratives are taken from a common source, or one of them from the other. Also the student should not overlook the closing sentence of the fifty-first chapter of the prophecy, "Thus far are the words of Jeremiah." This statement is obviously the language of a later editor, who then closes the book, chapter 52, with a selection, part of which serves the purpose of the compiler of our Book of Kings in a similar connection. How long after the career of Jeremiah this editorial work was done there is little in the book itself to assure.

We turn now to the prophecy of Ezekiel, wondering whether we shall meet traces of the hand of the compiler

as we have in Isaiah and Jeremiah. We are made aware at once that the form of composition is different. At the opening of Ezekiel there is no extended and formal title, such as that with which the other books have been provided. It is the prophet himself who speaks; and his language is like that of Isaiah and Jeremiah, where their messages have not been edited by the hand of the compiler. As far as we may infer from the form of the book which bears the name of Ezekiel, it has come to us in quite the literary structure given it by the prophet.

In the Twelve, the writings which in our English version we have learned to call the Minor Prophets, we may expect to find repetition of the characteristics revealed by the works already considered; and our expectations will not be disappointed. I shall not take space to reproduce the various instances in these twelve brief writings which show both the personal messages of the divine messengers and the marks of editors, or compilers, through whose hands portions of the messages have manifestly passed. In general, the opening verses of each book give evidence of the compiler's handling of the prophetic material which he found. The Book of Jonah, however, is regularly a narrative in the third person, as though the hero of the work had no part in its composition other than to furnish the material which the author fashioned into the masterpiece which we have inherited. In the Book of Zechariah, on the other hand, we have, between the eleventh and twelfth chapters, a change of thought and form almost as abrupt as that at the close of the thirty-ninth chapter of Isaiah. Sufficient examples of the various characteristics which we have previously considered will offer themselves to any who

desire to pursue the study through the several books as they stand.

It would be highly interesting to know when and where the literary processes which we have been observing began, and when they ceased. The work of some of the prophets and other writers and the time of their messages, as well as the sphere of their activities, we can ascertain with considerable certainty. David died probably about 1010 B.C. That the prophetic activity of Amos may be placed in about the middle of the eighth century, closing perhaps near 745 B.C., and was followed by the labors of Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah before the year 700, is reasonably sure. That Jeremiah had his distinguished career a little more than a century later, dying possibly about 585, and was followed in the next generation by Ezekiel, we may accept as substantially correct. Haggai and Zechariah clearly belong to the close of the exile, about 520 B.C., and Malachi appears to have a place two or three generations later. For most of the others the days in which they spoke are painfully uncertain. Conjectures have of course been made, and the dates proposed may be found in the commentaries or other similar discussions. For the purposes of this study such uncertainties are of little value. We are concerned primarily with the processes through which the writings passed.

Even less sure than the times of composition of the originals are the times, or periods, when the compiling and final editing of each of the composite works occurred. As some of the sources, particularly the poems, which later were woven into the Prophets are clearly ancient and early took the literary form which their authors

conceived, so it is equally certain that some of the final literary labors which we have inherited belong to the period of the exile or later.

As to the time when the several writings, in their completed form, were collected and received the sacred impress by which they became thereafter and still remain the Prophets, we are left wholly in doubt, other than that the evidence of the son of Sirach, as we have viewed it in chapter ii, makes sure this achievement as early as about 200 B.C. It may have been some time previous to that, but we cannot so assert. It cannot have been as early as the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, at the middle of the fifth century, for the Law alone at that time received the sacred distinction. Fortunately our benefit from the use of the Prophets does not hinge, in any degree, on our lack of knowledge in this matter.

CHAPTER V

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE TIME OF JEREMIAH AND JOSIAH

(About 620 B.C.)

Before we retrace farther the course of the growth of the Old Testament it will be of service to recall briefly what we have discovered thus far.

In chapter i we saw how, in the days of Jesus and Paul, the Old Testament consisted chiefly of the Law and the Prophets, together with large use of the Psalms and the Book of Daniel and some slight reference to others of the Writings, principally Proverbs. Some two centuries earlier, in the time of the son of Sirach, the situation was much the same, larger consideration, apparently, being given by the Israelites in Egypt to the books outside of the Law and the Prophets. Following the stream of sacred thought still farther toward its source, we discovered that, under the leadership of Ezra and Nehemiah, about 450 B.C., the people accepted the Law only, no reference being made to the Prophets, though the occasion was such as to make that reference most natural if the second division of the Old Testament had then been recognized as a part of the sacred books of the nation. From our study in chapter iv, however, it has been clear that, though the Prophets had not become a definite collection of accepted Scripture as early as the fifth century B.C., many of the individual books of the

Prophets, if not all of them, though perhaps not in the complete form in which we possess the books, were composed and more or less known at that date, or at least the sources out of which they were compiled were ready for that use.

We retrace the course of development one stage farther, therefore, fully conscious that, whatever we find the main current to be, there are lesser streams about us, either already contributing to the main flow of the thought of national religious life or opening into it at points nearer the source, where we shall meet them as we proceed.

In this next step we are favored, as we have been in each of the preceding steps, with highly important material from the Bible itself to direct our way. It is found in the twenty-second and twenty-third chapters of the Second Book of Kings. The language is so important that the more relevant portions require reproducing here in full, beginning at 22:3.

> And it came to pass in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, that the king sent Shaphan . . . . the scribe, to the house of Jehovah, saying, Go up to Hilkiah the high priest. . . . .
>
> And Hilkiah the high priest said unto Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of Jehovah. And Hilkiah delivered the book to Shaphan, and he read it. And Shaphan the scribe came to the king. . . . . And Shaphan the scribe told the king, saying, Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book. And Shaphan read it before the king. And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words of the book of the law, that he rent his clothes. . . . .

There follows (22:12 and on through much of chap. 23) the somewhat detailed account of the effect which this event produced on the king and, under his leadership,

Finding of Book of the Law' 621

on the affairs of the kingdom, amounting to what we have come to call the reformation under Josiah, about 620 B.C.

Not much time requir to read "Law"

As we examine the passage there is no indication that the reading of the Law on this occasion required considerable time. Though the book which was brought to the king and later read before the people is called the Law, just as that which was read by Ezra and his associates nearly two centuries later was called the Law, there is no mention here that the reading extended to even a second day; and the impression given by a study of the passage is that the book was read twice in a single day, and that these readings were only two of several important incidents which the day involved. Even if it be assumed that these two readings of the Law were on different days, the account leaves no doubt that the book which was brought to King Josiah was brief in comparison with that which Ezra and his associates read and explained to their fellow-Israelites.

Read twice in single da

Brief as com pared with Ezra's 'La

Obviously it is important then to discover the contents of this Law which had been presented to the nation. In this effort the method of comparison is once more our proper and fruitful course, and we can make the comparison because the account in Kings offers specific references to the Law as Josiah had learned of its demands and was putting it into execution. It is possible accordingly to follow up the references and learn of the book of the Law to which they point. Some parallels taken from the Book of Deuteronomy and the Second Book of Kings will aid in revealing the situation. The first has to do with the Israelitish worship of other gods than Jehovah.

What was th law?

Compare

II K. 22:17

DEUT. 29:25–27

Then men shall say, Because they forsook the covenant of Jehovah, the God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, and went and served other gods, and worshipped them, gods that they knew not, and that he had not given unto them: therefore the anger of Jehovah was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all the curse that is written in this book:

II KINGS 22:17

Because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the works of their hands, therefore my wrath shall be kindled against this place, and it shall not be quenched.

The reading of the two passages easily shows that the second grows out of the first. That which was indicated in the language of Deuteronomy found its fulfilment in the situation described in Kings. To the extent of this parallel then we may infer that the Law found in the Temple was represented in our Book of Deuteronomy.

Another incident mentioned in II Kings (23:1–2) points to a requirement of the Law according to which the people were to assemble for the reading of its precepts; and in Deuteronomy we find such a requirement. Note the parallel:

II K. 23:1, 2.

DEUT. 31:10–11

And Moses commanded them, saying, At the end of every seven years, in the set time of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before Jehovah thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing.

II KINGS 23:1–2

And the king sent, and they gathered unto him all the elders of Judah and of Jerusalem. And the king went up to the house of Jehovah, and all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, both small and great: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of Jehovah.

The quotation from Kings readily witnesses that the king was carrying out the command embodied in the language of Deuteronomy. Once more then the Law of the time of Josiah seems to correspond with the legislation of our Book of Deuteronomy.

A further striking similarity between the command of Deuteronomy and the action of Josiah as stated in Kings is found in these verses:

DEUT. 13:4	II KINGS 23:3
Ye shall walk after Jehovah your God, and fear him, and keep his commandments, and obey his voice, and ye shall serve him and cleave unto him.	And the king stood by the pillar, and made a covenant before Jehovah, to walk after Jehovah, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all his heart, and with all his soul, to confirm the words of this covenant that were written in this book:

A like parallelism in language and thought concerning the destruction of forbidden forms of worship is found in the following verses:

DEUT. 7:5	II KINGS 23:14
Ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and hew down their Asherim, and burn their graven images with fire.	And he brake in pieces the pillars, and cut down the Asherim, and filled their places with the bones of men.

The reader does not need to be urged to recognize how the language of Kings is specifically a description of the action which resulted from carrying out the requirement of Deuteronomy.

The dependence of Josiah's reformation upon the legislation of Deuteronomy may be aptly illustrated in at least one more parallel. Here are the words from Deuteronomy and those from Kings which wait to furnish the evidence:

DEUT. 18:10–11	II KINGS 23:24
There shall not be found with thee any one that makes his son or his daughter to pass through fire, one that useth divination, one that practiseth augury, or an enchanter, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or a consulter with a familiar spirit, or a wizard, or a necromancer.	Moreover them that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the teraphim, and the idols, and all the abominations that were seen in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might confirm the words of the law which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest found in the house of Jehovah.

Thus all the references in Kings to the Law found in the Temple seem to be references to our Book of Deuteronomy. This selection of passages from Deuteronomy is made not from choice but from necessity. There are no such close parallels between the account in Kings and the other books of the Pentateuch as there are between Kings and Deuteronomy. While phrases here and there in the Pentateuchal books other than Deuteronomy bear resemblance to the Kings narrative telling of the reform of Josiah, the reader will have great difficulty in discovering outside of Deuteronomy any evident basis for the reform activities. The reform was carried out in accordance with the legislation which Deuteronomy presents.

It is readily seen, therefore, from the evidence of the Bible material that in the time of Josiah the Law was a brief document in comparison with the Law in the days

of Ezra, and it is equally clear that the Law of the earlier period was a considerable part at least of our Book of Deuteronomy. It was our Book of Deuteronomy, or portions of it, which was found in the house of Jehovah in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Josiah.

The days of Josiah are the days of Jeremiah the prophet also, Jeremiah having begun his ministry in the thirteenth year of this king (Jer. 1:2). He was therefore entering upon his distinguished career when the Law was found. In view of this a comparison of the message of Jeremiah with the events narrated in Kings and the instructions of Deuteronomy is fitting and likely to be suggestive.

Such comparison may best be made perhaps by reading sufficient of Deuteronomy to be impressed with its thought and language, then reading again the account of Josiah's reform in the Book of Kings, and following these with the reading of considerable portions of the earlier chapters of the Book of Jeremiah. One who does this will recognize easily that the three narratives have the same underlying ideas and often present them in similar language. If with Kings and Jeremiah one reads from the legislation as contained in Exodus and Leviticus, however, he will not discover the same marked similarity that reveals itself between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy.

In addition to this general comparison, specific instances of likeness are to be noted. In Jer. 19:3–4 the prophet is speaking as though the words of Huldah the prophetess in II Kings 22:17–16 were his own; and the language of both is readily seen to depend on that found in Deut. 29:25–27, as the following parallel shows:

DEUT. 29:25–27

Then men shall say, Because they forsook the covenant of Jehovah, the God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, and went and served other gods, and worshipped them, gods that they knew not, and that he had not given unto them: therefore the anger of Jehovah was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all the curse that is written in this book;

II KINGS 22:16, 17

Thus saith Jehovah, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read. Because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the works of their hands, therefore my wrath is kindled against this place, and it shall not be quenched.

JER. 19:3, 4

Hear ye the word of Jehovah, O kings of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem: Thus saith Jehovah of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, which whosoever heareth, his ears shall tingle. Because they have forsaken me, and have estranged this place, and have burned incense in it unto other gods, that they knew not, they and their fathers and the kings of Judah, and have filled this place with the blood of innocents. . . . .

In a similar way we should read together Deut. 7:5, II Kings 23:14, and Jer. 17:1, 2.

DEUT. 7:5

But thus shall ye deal with them: ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and hew down their Asherim, and burn their graven images with fire.

II KINGS 23:14

And he brake in pieces the pillars, and cut down the Asherim, and filled their places with the bones of men.

JER. 17:1, 2

The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond: it is graven upon the tablet of their heart, and upon the horns of your altars; whilst their children remember their altars and their Asherim by the green trees upon the high hills.

In Deuteronomy the admonition is given, in Kings the humble monarch responds with thorough literalness, and in the language of the prophet is graphically portrayed the sin of those who are ignoring the warning which has been uttered.

Similar parallels may be made from the following passages, the comparison of which I leave to the interest of the reader to make. In Jer. 22:3 the prophet speaks as though the words of Deut. 10:17–18 were directly in this thought. The words in Jer. 11:3–4 are a distinct

echo of the warning of Deut. 27:26 made more effective by combining with the Israelitish experience so vividly portrayed in Deut. 4:20, and Jer. 19:13 pictures the inevitable outcome of disregarding the teaching laid down in Deut. 4:19.

Thus the material furnished by the Book of Jeremiah further indicates that the Law in the time of Jeremiah and Josiah was a book similar to our Book of Deuteronomy. In discovering this we have not gone outside of the information provided by the writings themselves. Letting the Bible be its own interpreter, we have been led to see how the Law in the time of Jeremiah was a far less extensive work than the Law in the time of Ezra, an earlier and much smaller edition, as we might say, of the later code for the Israelitish people. This briefer Law then, as Josiah put it in force, was the Old Testament, the accepted sacred writings, as early as the last quarter of the seventh century B.C. It is fitting, therefore, that we should now seek the course of events through which the Law as used by Jeremiah developed, during the course of two centuries, into the Law as presented to the nation by Ezra and Nehemiah. Our task, not easy perhaps, is to discover as many as we can of the lesser streams of legal and didactic thought which flowed into a single stream between 620 and 450 B.C. It is a search for sources of the Law as those sources may be discernible in the Law itself.

CHAPTER VI

SOURCES OF THE LAW

From our study thus far we see that one of the sources of the Law in the time of Ezra was the earlier Law of the time of Jeremiah. We should be very glad if we could know just what that earlier Law was, how extensive it was, and the nature of its contents. Unfortunately that may be impossible. The Law which was found in the Temple apparently has not been preserved in the form it then had, and there may be no way by which it can be reconstructed with certainty.

There is, however, a practical course for us to follow. We may first examine the contents of the Book of Deuteronomy and learn what it offers concerning its origin. This may furnish some clue to the extent and nature of the earlier Law. At any rate, such a step is the proper one to be taken.

Turning then to our Book of Deuteronomy we find promising suggestions in the direction we desire to go. In 31:9 it is recorded that "Moses wrote this law," evidently referring not to the Book of Deuteronomy itself but to the earlier Law which the compiler of Deuteronomy was using. In 31:24 there is a further reference to the legislation which Moses had prepared; the compiler tells of the time "when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book," that is, the Law which the author of Deuteronomy possessed

as a basis of the new edition of Israelitish Law which he was preparing.

In this same suggestive thirty-first chapter, at the twenty-second verse, there is preserved another important statement concerning the sources of the book, particularly as those sources were inherited from Moses. Here the compiler introduces the words, "So Moses wrote this song the same day and taught it to the children of Israel," apparently referring to the relatively long poem quoted in the thirty-second chapter, in the introduction to which (31:30) we are told again that "Moses spake in the ears of all the assembly of Israel the words of this song, until they were finished."

These statements in the thirty-first chapter are among the most significant ones in the Book of Deuteronomy bearing on the Mosaic authorship of the contents. They are not extended, nor are they very definite. They are sufficient, however, to show that the author of the book in its present form freely used material which he attributed to Moses. Apparently Moses was thought of as the one who had originally prepared the Israelitish legislation which lies at the basis of the fuller code of legislation comprised in Deuteronomy.

It is well worth while to pause and consider another item of information arising from the language quoted above. This item is the statement that Moses wrote poetry, some of which appears to be preserved. Moses then was a poet as well as a lawgiver. This is hardly a common thought in our time. The ordinary reader of the Bible, even a reader who has given considerable study to the contents of the volume, probably does not often, if ever, think of Moses as a poet. Here is an element

of the great Israelitish leader then which has been overlooked, and yet it is one which is likely to be highly important.

This importance lies in the close relationship between poetry and life as a whole, especially in the earlier days. From those early times Moses was led to make his supreme contribution to the life of man. We need not wonder then if he was moved to use the rhythm of poetic phrase or the emphasis of poetic couplet as a means of bringing more adequately to the people the rules which were to guide the path of life; and as we pay him this new tribute we rightly enlarge our view of his greatness; the splendid mental portrait we already possessed takes on new lines of charm and power.

Such are some of the impressions which result from a sympathetic reading of the Book of Deuteronomy itself with the desire of learning what it can furnish relative to its authorship. These impressions, however, are only the beginning of those which await us, and we gladly pass on to notice others.

One of these is received through thoughtful observation of the form of language as a whole. This observation reveals that much of the account is written in the third person, quite in accord with what we should expect after considering the definite statements above showing how the author of the book in its present form gathered material from earlier Mosaic sources. Two or three examples of the language which are a witness to this fact are in place. In the opening verse of the book we read: "These are the words which Moses spake unto all Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah. . . . ." And then follows an explanation by the

compiler, so that the reader of his day may understand the conditions out of which Moses spoke. As soon as this explanation is furnished, we read again (vs. 3): "And it came to pass in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month, on the first day of the month, that Moses spake unto the children of Israel, according to all that Jehovah had given him in commandment unto them. . . . ." Thus the compiler is careful to impress upon his readers how he is introducing the great lawgiver whose teaching is about to be stated in the direct language of Moses himself. If in previous reading of the Book of Deuteronomy we have not observed how the language shows that Moses did not write it in its present form, that is because we have read the language for other purposes than to discover what it freely offers concerning its own origin.

This distinction which the compiler makes between his own work and the material which he attributed to Moses appears strongly in the phrase "beyond the Jordan," which occurs at various times in the Book of Deuteronomy as a whole. When the author of Deuteronomy uses this phrase for himself, indicating the geographic point from which he wrote, for example in 1:1, 5; 4:41, "beyond the Jordan" is east of the river "in the land of Moab," the writer thus indicating that he lived and wrote after the people had crossed the Jordan. When, however, the phrase "beyond the Jordan" is clearly a part of language attributed to Moses, it points to localities on the west side of the Jordan. We see this in such instances as the words of 3:25, "Let me go over, I pray thee, and see the good land that is beyond the Jordan, that goodly mountain, and

Lebanon"; or, in 11:30, where Moses urged the people to look forward to Gerizim and Ebal, adding, "Are they not beyond the Jordan, behind the way of the going down of the sun . . . .?" The writer thus keeps clearly before his readers how Moses did not cross the river, while the writer himself, at a later date, was living on the western side of the famous stream.

The details we have thus noted are sufficient to impress upon us how the Book of Deuteronomy, like the Law in the time of Ezra, was a compilation from previous legislation, particularly legislation attributed to Moses. As we feel this, it is in place to recall what we gathered in the preceding chapter, where we found how the Law in the time of Josiah was a considerable portion at least of our Book of Deuteronomy. Two results stand out before us: we see that the Law in the time of Josiah is represented in our Book of Deuteronomy; we see no less surely that the Book of Deuteronomy is a compilation.

The next inquiry naturally is whether the Law in the time of Josiah was our Book of Deuteronomy as a whole, or whether it was the important source used by the compiler of Deuteronomy. As far as we have examined the material, our answer would be that the Law in the time of Josiah may have been either Deuteronomy or its main source. So we look farther to discover what we can bearing upon the question.

The step we take is not an easy one. Perhaps the Book of Deuteronomy alone furnishes nothing which allows a decisive reply to our inquiry. Its contents, as we have seen, correspond to the contents of the book which Shaphan took to the king and Jeremiah later

employed as the basis of his stirring messages to the people. Its extent is such that it might have been read as Josiah and those about him pored through the pages of the startling document which was brought to their attention by the temple keepers. It is needful accordingly to look farther than the book itself.

We turn first perhaps to the beginning of the book and examine to see whether it appears to be the beginning of an independent work, or whether there are indications that it is connected with the Book of Numbers, and so, as it now stands, gives evidence of being only a portion of the continuous narrative which we call the Pentateuch. In this examination it will be best to turn to the Bible and read continuously from some portion of the last chapter of Numbers on over into the first chapter of Deuteronomy. Somewhat adequate impression may be gained, however, from a quotation of the last verse of Numbers followed by the opening words of Deuteronomy. Here are these passages:

NUM. 36:15 FOLLOWED BY DEUT. 1:1

These are the commandments and the ordinances which Jehovah commanded by Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho.

These are the words which Moses spake unto all Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah over against Suph, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di-Zahab.

What is the impression received from the reading? Are these adjoining sentences of a single narrative, or are they two expressions of two similar ideas? Is the first a summary of the account which it closes, the second a

forecast of the history which it serves to introduce? Probably most readers will incline to the second alternative, feeling that we are in the presence of the ending of one work and the beginning of another. This impression is likely to be strengthened if one turns to the close of Leviticus, following it with the opening of Numbers, and then in like manner to Exodus-Leviticus and to Genesis-Exodus. He will find at the close of Leviticus, to be sure, a summary, but it is not followed by one in the first verse of Numbers, and it may have been merely a summary in the midst of a narrative. The divisions between Genesis and Exodus and between Exodus and Leviticus seem quite arbitrary, breaking up the continuity of the account in Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus as a whole. Altogether the relation between Numbers and Deuteronomy, when compared with the relations between the other books, suggests that Deuteronomy is a separate compilation.

Before we adopt that as a conclusion, however, we shall do well to turn to the close of the book and notice how it is related to the Book of Joshua. On doing this we find that the concluding portion of Deuteronomy is an account of the death of Moses. We go on to the opening verses of Joshua and read, "Now it came to pass after the death of Moses the servant of Jehovah, that Jehovah spake unto Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister. . . . ." Thus the Joshua narrative appears to continue that in Deuteronomy. If one opens the Bible and reads the passages in full, he will recognize how fittingly the two books join together. Apparently the books are a single work which has been arbitrarily divided at this point.

This discovery may well prompt us to turn the pages of the Bible further and examine the relation between the Book of Joshua and the Book of Judges. Is the Book of Judges a continuation of the account in Joshua?

With that question in mind we look to the close of Joshua and find that 24:29–30 is an account of the death of Joshua. This is separated from the Book of Judges by only three or four sentences, and the two books might be severed portions of one historical work, so far as that evidence is concerned, since the first verse of Judges refers to what occurred after the death of Joshua. If, however, one reads on through the first and second chapters of the Book of Judges, he discovers quite surprising material. In addition to noticing that the first chapter as a whole deals with conditions at the very beginning of the occupation of the country west of the Jordan, he finds that in chapter 2 Joshua is still alive, and the account treats him as though there had been no reference to his death. Some meditation on these elements of the history reveals that in the early portion of the Book of Judges we have an account substantially parallel to that in Joshua. The two books are not different chapters of a single history; they are different histories of the same events, and the opening sentence of the Book of Judges is an editorial adjustment made when the two histories were brought together for the arrangement of the Prophets as the second portion of the Israelitish Scriptures.

If now we turn back and read through Deuteronomy and Joshua as a whole, it will be easy to see that the story of Joshua is needed to continue the history begun in Deuteronomy. If the style of the narrative is observed,

as well as the events narrated, one will see also that the literary qualities of Deuteronomy are manifest in Joshua, even in the English translation. Deuteronomy and Joshua then furnish good evidence that they are dissevered sections of a single historical work.

Is it possible then that the Law which was found in the Temple in the eighteenth year of King Josiah was Deuteronomy-Joshua as a single book? Apparently this cannot be. In addition to the fact that the two books together are much longer, it seems, than what was read by Shaphan and by the king, there is nothing in the account of the reformation under Josiah to indicate that the Book of Joshua was a part of the temple Law.

There is another possibility. We recall, as explained above (chap. v), how the Law which was discovered in the Temple may have been merely one of the main sources of the present Book of Deuteronomy. Since that temple Law was not Deuteronomy-Joshua as a whole, and it is clear that Deuteronomy and Joshua in their present form belong together, we are now brought easily to the conclusion that the temple Law was merely the chief source out of which our Deuteronomy was compiled.

What then is the relation between Genesis-Exodus-Leviticus-Numbers as a single continuous narrative and Deuteronomy-Joshua as another single continuous narrative? Are these really separate, independent works, as the close of Numbers and the opening words of Deuteronomy have led us to think possible, if not probable? Or is that apparent independence a mere literary accident, Deuteronomy being actually a continuation of the story in Numbers? Undoubtedly this latter alternative is really in accord with the facts in

spite of the language at the point of union. The contents of the two books as a whole indicate that the second continues, in a general way at least, the narrative which is contained in the first. One might even be judged harshly for proposing that Deuteronomy is not a continuation of Numbers, if the proposal had not been made merely as a fair analysis of the material bearing on the question, particularly the language where the two books touch each other. How there came to be a summary at the end of what we call the Book of Numbers and another introducing what we call the Book of Deuteronomy it is not easy to tell. Perhaps the most probable explanation is to recall how, in the early use of the narrative, convenience led to the breaking up of it into parts, and then to recognize how the material in Deuteronomy especially is of a somewhat distinct character, a new summary of the earliest legislation, and an editorial title such as we now find at the beginning of the book was a natural aid to the reader. At the same time a summary of the preceding division, what we call the Book of Numbers, would have been equally natural.

There is a significant outcome of our investigations thus far. While we may still speak of the Pentateuch, that is, a single work in five parts, because the word has a specific meaning, we are more concerned, from the point of view of literary history, with the first six books of the Bible, the Hexateuch, as the word is used to describe the early Bible narrative, a single work in six parts.

Our study of the testimony of the books themselves then brings us face to face with a larger problem than we have been aware of heretofore. It is not the problem

of the origin of the Book of Deuteronomy alone; it is not even the question of the origin of the Law, the Pentateuch; it is the question of the origin of the Hexateuch as a whole with which we are dealing.

This new aspect of the study furnishes a happy feature. In discovering that our search for the sources of the Law is really a search for the sources of the Hexateuch, we are carried along to see the close relation between the Law and the Prophets and to the evident relationship between the sources of the two, for the Book of Joshua belongs to both. We need at once then to recall some of the material we gathered in chapter iv, where we have taken into account sources of the Book of Joshua as one of the Prophets, since what was there a source for the Prophets becomes here relevant as a source of the Hexateuch and of the Law as a part of the Hexateuch.

The recollection of one element of that discussion is the most significant. This element is the study of the quotations from the Book of Jashar (pp. 23–27), which brought us to the conclusion that the Book of Joshua was composed at least as late as the close of the life of David. The meaning of that is now evident for the further study of the Hexateuch and its sources. Joshua we have found to be at least as late as the days of Solomon, and at the same time it reveals itself as part of the continuous history beginning with the Book of Genesis. The Hexateuch then, and so the Law, assumed its final form not earlier than the death of David.

While this is highly interesting as we look for the sources of the Law, it ought not to take us away from the consideration of further sources as revealed through

investigation of the material furnished by the Law itself. We turn then to notice some passages in the Law which give a further clue to the early documents which its compilers employed. Happily we have definite mention of a work which suggests that it was akin to the Book of Jashar. This is in the Book of Numbers (21:14), where we read:

> Wherefore it is said in the book of the Wars of Jehovah,
>
> Vaheb in Suphah,
> And the valleys of the Arnon,
> And the slope of the valleys
> That inclineth toward the dwellings of Ar,
> And leaneth upon the border of Moab.

If the title of the work here referred to were not given as the Wars of Jehovah, we might easily infer that this quotation, like those in the Prophets, had been selected from the Book of Jashar. Like those it is poetic, and it indicates conditions connected with the rugged life of the Israelitish nation.

Two verses farther along (Num. 21:17–18) we meet another quotation from a poetic source, introduced as a song of Israel when they had been furnished with water to meet their need. Whether this is another quotation from the book of the Wars of Jehovah it is impossible to say, but there is no hint that one source is employed in both instances, and perhaps the probability is that the two poetic selections are from separate writings.

We have only to turn a leaf, or less, and find in 21:27–30 a considerable selection from a poem which is attributed to those "that speak in proverbs." Apparently this is still another source, though the variation in

name may be only a recognition of difference in title of the particular poem rather than the use of an additional collection, or book, of poetic compositions. Whatever the facts of authorship in detail, we are manifestly in the presence of a variety of sources which have been utilized by the compiler of the Law.

Before we leave this aspect of the question of source material for the Law we should think of the extended poem in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, which is called the song of "Moses and the children of Israel." This description may not be intended to indicate authorship. It must, however, be at least another reminder of the Israelitish conception of Moses as a man with poetic temperament at the same time that he was the founder of the national legislation. In this fact is re-emphasized the primitive relation between poetry and the rules for directing conduct. This relationship may well be kept in mind in our further effort to retrace the currents of literary composition among the Israelitish people.

There are two other interesting statements in the Pentateuch concerning the part which Moses shared in preparing the way for the writings to which his name has become attached. One of these is preserved in the Book of Numbers. In 33:2 it is recorded that "Moses wrote" an account of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt according to the command of Jehovah. Such an account would naturally be something in the form of annals of the journeys which the people made. Much of the remainder of chapter 33 is composed of brief descriptions of journeys which the people accomplished, and thus fulfils our expectations. We have before us in the

chapter, therefore, some portion of a brief and early record of the travels of the people, a record which entered naturally as a source into the later compilation.

Two obvious inferences are to be kept in mind from what we have just noted. We must be impressed with the fact that the Book of Numbers at this point is a narrative some of the material of which is specifically credited to Moses. Along with that it is equally clear that the language at the opening of this thirty-third chapter of Numbers is from an editor who is introducing Moses as the author of the source from which the editor has chosen to select.

The other statement concerning Moses as an author is found in Exod. 24:4, where we read that "Moses wrote all the words of Jehovah" which had been given to him on the occasion mentioned. While the nature of what is attributed to Moses here is entirely different from that attributed to him in the thirty-third chapter of Numbers, the literary form of the two passages is substantially the same, and the resulting inferences are quite alike. Both call attention to Moses as an author of material incorporated in our Pentateuch; both make clear the work of an editor upon the material which he had drawn from Moses as a source.

We are now ready to observe that the narrative of the Pentateuch as a whole is ordinarily in the third person. This may be verified on almost any page of any one of the five books. It appears to be a significant fact. While it is entirely conceivable that a writer would use his own name in the third person, as though someone else were presenting him, that possibility seems altogether improbable both from the general form of the

language as we have observed it and from other considerations which will offer themselves later.

Among these considerations are the facts presented in passages such as the following, each of which must be allowed to have its own proper weight in leading to a conclusion concerning the literary development of the Pentateuchal writings. The first of the passages which I mention has to do with the naming of Isaac. This naming itself is one of the well-known incidents of the Bible and is often retold. That there are three different forms of the incident is not so well understood. The passages containing these three versions of the giving of the name are Gen. 17:17, 19; 18:12; and 21:5–6, and their significance may best be seen by placing them in parallel columns.

Gen. 17:17, 19	Gen. 18:12	Gen. 21:5–6
Then Abraham fell upon his face, and laughed, and said in his heart, Shall a child be born unto him that is a hundred years old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear? . . . . Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son; and thou shalt call his name Isaac ["laughter"].	And Sarah laughed within herself, saying, After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also?	And Abraham was a hundred years old, when his son Isaac ["laughter"] was born unto him. And Sarah said, God hath made me to laugh; everyone that heareth will laugh with me.

The three passages should be read in full if one is to receive the proper impression, but in any comparison the variations in the accounts of the naming of the child are evident. In the first the name Isaac, meaning "laughter," is given because of the unbelieving laugh of Abraham. In the second it is Sarah who is lacking in faith concerning the birth of the child Isaac. In the third the laughter on the part of Sarah which explains

the name of the child is not the laugh of unbelief but that of joy.

As soon as these patent facts are before us and we seek an explanation, the simple one is to conclude that three different accounts of the birth and naming of Isaac have been combined by a compiler without attempting to harmonize them. For us, in our desire to understand the origin of the Mosaic writings, this preservation of the variant accounts is highly fortunate. If the compiler had entirely re-written the story of the incident we should have been deprived of the important information we now possess.

Another incident of somewhat similar import is the story of the explanation of the name Jehovah. There is an explanation in Exod. 3:13–15; in Exod. 6:2–6 an explanation of the name is given as though nothing of the sort had preceded; and the second explanation varies from the other. These dissimilarities may be seen best by placing the two passages side by side.

Exod. 3:13–14	Exod. 6:2–6
And Moses said unto God, Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say unto me, What is his name? what shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM: and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you.	And God spake unto Moses and said unto him, I am Jehovah: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as God Almighty: but by my name Jehovah I was not known to them. . . . . And moreover I have heard the groaning of the children of Israel . . . . and I have remembered my covenant. Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, I am Jehovah. . . . .

The most casual reading of the passages will disclose that a single writer would scarcely have offered these

two explanations of the introduction of the name Jehovah, and particularly in such close proximity to each other. The ordinary reader of the Bible, however, naturally does not discover the two accounts, since he either does not read the two passages at a single sitting, or he reads for other than literary and historical purposes, and the likeness of the two does not reveal itself. That there are two accounts, however, is evident; and the explanation is most easily found in the recognition that our Book of Exodus is a composite formed of at least two documents and the editorial work of the compiler.

A further example of the fusing of two accounts of a single incident is the story of the departure of Jacob from the home of his parents to spend some time with his uncle Laban. The most significant portions of the combined accounts are Gen. 27:42–45 and Gen. 28:1–7, which I leave to the reader to arrange in their proper parallelism. He will be particularly impressed with the two quite different reasons assigned for the making of the journey.

One more instance of the Pentateuchal parallels, selected from the opening part of the narrative, will be sufficient to illustrate the editorial method of composition which the Mosaic legislation displays. It is the account of the creation of vegetation and man as given in Gen. 1:11–12, 26–27, and again in 2:5–7. The material is so important that the full quotation is more than justified.

GEN. 1:11–12, 26–27	GEN. 2:5–7
And God said, Let the earth put forth grass, herbs yielding seed, and fruit-trees bearing fruit after their kind, wherein is the seed	And no plant of the field was yet in the earth, and no herb of the field had yet sprung up; for Jehovah God had not yet caused

GEN. 1:11–12, 26–27

thereof, upon the earth: and it was so. And the earth brought forth grass, herbs yielding seed after their kind: and God saw that it was good.

And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the heavens, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. And God created man in his own image, in the image of man created he him; male and female created he them.

GEN. 2:5–7

it to rain upon the earth: and there was not a man to till the ground; but there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.

And Jehovah God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.

The duplication is obvious. In each there is the creation of varieties of vegetable life, and yet the second account begins with a specific statement that there had not yet been any such creation of plant life as the first account clearly describes. In the second account we find the creation of man as ingenuously introduced as though no reference to such creation had previously been made.

The conclusion is natural and simple. In the first two chapters of Genesis we are in the presence of a narrative of the creation resulting from the combination of at least two accounts, the compiler being more interested to preserve both forms of the report than to bring them into agreement, or to take the time to call attention to the variations of detail and the disagreements in the resulting narrative as a whole. This may be a method of writing history to which we are not accustomed, but the outcome is certainly fortunate for

us as a means of revealing the processes through which the Pentateuchal, or rather the Hexateuchal, accounts have been preserved.

These examples of parallel narrative, as we have noted them, interwoven into the Hexateuch and edited by the hand of a compiler, or compilers, are sufficient to illustrate the general processes through which the Mosaic legislation arose and the methods which were employed in bringing the result about. We need further, at this point, only to recall what sources, or types of sources, have revealed themselves as we have examined the language of the Law itself.

At the basis of all the material assembled in the Pentateuch then lies the inheritance which the nation had received from Moses. He was remembered, by the writers of later days, as the writer of annals of the Israelitish travels, as the singer of heroic stories concerning Israel and her history, and as the framer of legislation and other rules for the guidance of the people's life. How extensive the writings of Moses were, in what form he left them, and how recollections of his thought and service were compiled by others and related to his own writings, as his friends would certainly have been disposed to preserve his career and explain its meaning for those who followed—all this we are not told. We can merely draw such inferences as detailed study of the history warrants, and there seems no occasion here to do it at all. Our purpose is merely to understand the elements of Hexateuchal growth and the processes of development.

With this Mosaic basis for Israelitish legislation the compilers had access also to other early poetic story and

other traditions. As an outcome, somewhere before the eighteenth year of King Josiah, there was prepared the Law which was then found in the Temple. With regard to who the compiler or compilers were we have no information. How extensive the book was we are not told. A study of the Book of Deuteronomy in its relation to the reformation of Josiah, as recorded in the twenty-second and twenty-third chapters of II Kings, leads to the conclusion, as we have seen, that the temple Law must have been a considerable portion, perhaps nearly all, of the contents of Deuteronomy.

Thus the Book of Deuteronomy, largely as we have it, became the book of legal guidance for the Israelitish people before the year 600 B.C. Then came the national overthrow and the exile, but the national Law and the other writings were cherished and preserved and thus became possible sources of further writings. These writings, as we have observed, included the Book of Joshua as well as the Law, resulting in a literary Hexateuch rather than the Pentateuch alone. As Joshua is the first of the Prophets, we have been carried along inevitably to think of the sources of the Law as intimately related to those of the Prophets. This opens the larger question of the growth of the Law and the Prophets as a whole.

CHAPTER VII

THE GROWTH OF THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS

The outcome of our study thus far is a discovery that the several books called by Israel the Law and the Prophets were the result of a long development in which the writings of various authors and editors were finally compiled into books, and these books were gathered into two collections, the earlier of which was known as the Law and the later as the Prophets. This outcome presents itself through an examination of the several books themselves, beginning with the specific language of the New Testament and then following up the suggestions and clues which continuously open for our use.

This method commends itself because it meets the requirement of being faithful to the Scriptures. Where the Bible itself leads, all lovers of the book will readily follow. If the method discloses some elements of the literary development of the Bible which are not generally familiar or universally accepted, the outcome is not the fault of the method. As far as the Bible, even the English Version, is concerned, the elements of growth to which attention has been called might have been generally known long ago. They have failed to become understood because most of us have failed to observe the historical data which were lying ready at hand and waiting for proper use. And we also are to a large degree blameless in the matter because the training

furnished us has tended to obscure or hide the literary history of the Bible. Our teachers and we have usually gone to the Bible as a book of devotion, or a book of doctrine, and we have passed by on the other side when we came near the appeal of the book for attention as a source of its own history.

Now that an examination of the Scripture itself reveals its growth, we ought perhaps to summarize the results already attained. We have been traveling from near the mouth of the river of Scripture back toward the various sources of this wonderful stream of life and thought; now it may be useful to retrace our steps, note briefly what we have discovered, and thus gather something of the actual literary movements out of which arose the Law and the Prophets.

We may begin then by recalling how the earliest specific references of the Bible to authorship are those which mention Moses as a writer of annals and other material. These references have been considered in some detail, apparently covering all specific indications of his authorship which the Pentateuch contains. Accordingly, as far as the testimony of the Law itself is concerned, the literary history of the Bible began about 1200 B.C., since the period to which Moses belonged is not far from that date. Whether there was an earlier literary development the Hexateuch does not show. There may have been such a history, and fragments of its literary expression may be imbedded, without descriptive marks, in the Hexateuchal narrative. Perhaps it is most natural to assume such a literary heritage. If we do, we are likely to find the remains of it in such genealogical lists as those of the tenth and eleventh chapters

of Genesis, and in such snatches of primitive poetry as Gen. 4:23–24, where these early couplets are preserved.

Gen. 4:23

> And Lamech said unto his wives:
> Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
> Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech:
> For I have slain a man for wounding me,
> And a young man for bruising me:
> If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
> Truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.

Interesting as such verses are, however, and bearing inherent marks of primitive thought and expression, we are unable to date them from the material offered by the Bible itself. We cannot even say that they are earlier than the time of Moses, though we may feel that they are. As far as the biblical testimony is concerned, the Scriptures trace themselves back only to Moses, the leader, the poet, and the lawgiver of the sons of Israel; and to him it attributes only portions of the material which was employed by the later writers.

During the two centuries or so between Moses and David no author, in the proper sense of the term, seems to have appeared. The Scripture evidence for the period is fragmentary, but it leads to that conclusion. There are, however, some suggestive, though incidental, references to literary activity.

Josh. 8:32
shua wrote a copy of law.

In Josh. 8:32 (cf. 24:26) it is said that Joshua wrote a copy of the Law. Though this does not make the successor of Moses an author, it does indicate education and the possibility of literary life. This would have been natural for associates of Moses, particularly for his close companion, who assumed his leadership. What the Law was of which Joshua is said to have made a copy may

be inferred from what we have already gathered concerning the work of Moses and the literary contribution which he made to the Israelitish people. Obviously we are not able to say just what was its nature or its extent.

On page 27 I have already called attention to the language of Judg. 1:11–12. It has a significance beyond what the use of it there properly brought out, a significance which is appropriate and important here. This is found in the older name of the place, Kiriath-sepher, which means "City-of-books." In other words the people who lived there before the Israelites came into the country had reached the stage of cultural development where one of their towns was known as a city of books pre-eminently. Into such an atmosphere the sons of Israel entered when they passed to the westward of the Jordan River and made that part of the country their home. Any education, culture, and literary tendency which they already possessed found a favorable soil in which to grow, and it would have been strange if progress had not been made.

The story of Deborah I have used on page 27 to illustrate the double type of source material in the Prophets. It rightly serves another purpose here. While we may not be able to say certainly that either the prose or the poetic account is contemporary, or nearly so, with the event, yet it seems more natural to think that the poetic story at least belongs to about the period when the incident occurred. If this is correct, then this poem, and very likely more or less of other similar literature, appeared during the half-dozen generations from Moses to David the king. The heritage from

Moses and from the literary predecessors in Palestine had not been lost; perhaps it was rather beginning to be improved.

Another incidental but suggestive statement belonging to this period occurs in I Sam. 10:25, where we read that Samuel told the people about the kingdom and wrote this in a book. How much may have been written, or the nature of it, we can only guess, but at any rate the later compiler of the Prophets looked back to Samuel as the writer of an account of the government and its meaning for the people who had providentially come under his direction. The generation preceding that of David, therefore, as well as that following him, gave some attention to recording the events which seemed of most concern for the national welfare.

Such are the fountains and brooklets of literary thought and expression which the Bible reveals concerning the days previous to the establishment of the kingdom under the direction of the son of Jesse. Individually they might not seem to mean much toward a national literature, but taken together and viewed as the early sources of a literary development they are amply sufficient as a promise of all that manifested itself later.

When we arrive at the period of David and Solomon and their successors the evidence of literary efforts increases. According to II Sam. 11:14, David wrote a letter to his general, Joab; and from this period on there is somewhat frequent reference to the writing of letters or to other literary activity. It was at this time, as we have already seen (p. 25), that the Book of Jashar appears to locate itself, and here we find the earliest mention of the annalist and secretary. In connection

with the story of the reign of Solomon we meet a reference to the book of the acts of this king (I Kings 11:41), this being the first mention of such a narrative. After the kingdom was divided, about 935 B.C., each of the two resulting kingdoms began a similar narrative. For the kingdom of Judah it is called the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, and for the northern kingdom we have the corresponding form, the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel.

Some inferences are obvious. The literary inheritance from Moses and his successors did not suffice. The sons of Israel had reached a development where they desired the work of the historian, the historian of those times to be sure, but at any rate the labors of a class of men whose business it was to record and preserve something of the royal achievements. This was a requirement for the undivided nation, and it was regarded as equally essential for each of the two branches into which the nation separated.

The significance of this for the literary history of the people and the growth of the Bible deserves to be well considered, especially in its relation to other data. Among these other data is the fact that the Hexateuch contains much material in addition to the legislative nucleus inherited from Moses and the poetic thought received from him and other singers. It contains an outline of the history of the world from the beginning of time, and this outline history, as we have observed, is composed in various instances of duplicate accounts woven together. At the same time there is no evidence that these duplicate stories of the ancient days were written in the period of the events. There is no mention

of the date, or periods, when they were written. The earliest mention of literary life which would naturally have produced such historical narratives begins with David and Solomon.

How are we to explain these various data of literary activities? Undoubtedly they are related to each other. What is the relation? The answer is perhaps almost obvious as soon as we look at the entire situation with an open mind. Before we state it, however, there is one other element of the situation which claims attention for a moment.

Two of the prominent figures in the early part of the ninth century, that is in the time of Ahab and a little later, were the prophets Elijah and Elisha. The Books of Kings contain a long account of the careers of these men. Yet there is little or nothing to indicate that they wrote their messages. They belonged to the age when the oracle of the prophet was only oral. The accounts of their labors were preserved by others than themselves. Whether those who wrote these messages and the events connected with the prophetic careers were friends of those days and wrote contemporary records we are not advised. Since there were royal secretaries, however, there may well have been prophetic secretaries. Perhaps there is a suggestion of such secretary friends in the story of the sons of the prophets as told in II Kings 2:3–7. The significant fact for the purposes of our study now is that we have copious narratives of prophetic life and thought, but narratives not prepared by the prophets themselves.

Altogether we have most important material out of which to frame an answer to the question suggested in the

second paragraph above. We have a legal inheritance from Moses, poems which he composed, the songs of other early bards, the beginning of royal annals in the reign of David, the continuance of such records for both of the later kingdoms, the law as it appeared in the time of King Josiah, and the combination of all such material, together with an outline of the history of the world from the beginning of time, this outline itself showing its composite nature, as in the incidents of the creation of man, the story of the flood, and the naming of Isaac—all these elements combined as early as the time of Ezra into a single narrative the chief part of which we call the Pentateuch. How did this come about?

The reply, in addition to what has already been indicated, obviously is that, as each of the two kingdoms following the death of Solomon was interested to record its own achievements, so the leaders of each became desirous of carrying its history back to the dawn of time, made use of such traditions and other materials as were available, and wrote a history accordingly. As the materials were not the same for the writers of both kingdoms, so the two histories varied in the respective accounts of the events described. The leaders of the two nations, when they were taken to Babylonia, carried these histories with them. Surrounded by the thought, culture, and historical materials of Babylonia, some of them, particularly the priestly scholars, were led to take still a third view of Israelitish history, law, and life, and yet to cherish the writings which they had inherited. And out of all these elements arose the Hexateuch, as naturally as the full-flowing river is the gathering together of many fountains, brooklets, creeks, and other

larger streams. In some places it exhibits the combination of three sources, with the work of an editor; in other places only two main sources.

The composition of the Hexateuch, however, did not absorb all the available materials of Israelitish thought, history, and law. Indeed it made use of material covering only the time previous to and including the days of Joshua; and the fact that a faithful study of it reveals its composite nature reveals also that it was the product of selections, and that the remainders of those selections were discarded or left for such later service as might be desired. In other words, a proper study of the language of the Bible to learn its history introduces us to an Israelitish literature of considerable extent, only the choicest portions of which, as so regarded by the later compilers, have been preserved.

This becomes increasingly evident as we pass on later than the days of Ezra and the formation of the Hexateuch to consider the formation of the Prophets into a single closed collection of sacred writings. It is to be seen in the fact that, while the several books of the Prophets are not referred to in the time of Ezra and evidently had not yet been exalted to the sacred dignity bestowed on them a little more than two centuries later, yet the contents of nearly or quite all of these writings are devoted to life and events previous to Ezra's work. In the case of the earlier prophets, namely, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, this is obvious, the last of these having reached its natural close when the kingdoms came to an end. While it is not so evident in the case of the preacher-prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the others, it is sufficiently clear to require only mention in

order to be recognized. These men lived before Ezra's time.

The course of events which led to the selection and acceptance of these Prophets as the second division of the Israelitish Scriptures is reasonably certain. The actual marks of the process, to be sure, have not been discovered; and it is easy to see that the compilers were not concerned in leaving a record of what they did and how they came to do it. They were concerned with the enterprise itself, the better preservation of their sacred writings, and the use of these in the development of the nation. The needful materials for this work, the assembling of the Prophets, were lying ready at hand, and the appearance of the collection about 200 B.C. leaves little doubt concerning the substance of what occurred. It was this: Israelitish history as it had been written in the kingdom of Judah and a similar history as it had been written in the northern kingdom, each covering the time from Moses to Solomon, were used, edited, and combined with other available sources to produce our Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and the beginning of Kings. In a similar way the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, with other sources, were brought together, the result being now before us in the Books of the Kings, as these cover the period from Solomon to the exile. The oracles of the great preachers of Israel, from Amos to Malachi, were handled in a similar manner and brought into substantially their present form. Finally, somewhere about two centuries before the birth of Jesus, all these writings were so used and came to be so regarded because of their peculiar worth that, through divine

providence, they became a distinct and specially recognized collection of sacred books. Since we do not know the details of the extended process there is no need that we should attempt to narrate them. It is important, however, that we keep in mind how natural the growth was, and that we enter into sympathy with the spirit, historical, literary, and religious, which brooded over the development.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BOOKS OF THE WRITINGS

Our study thus far has revealed how the Law and the Prophets developed. Beginning from the New Testament we traced back the various stages of growth and the sources which were employed by the sacred writers. Having done that, we retraced our steps (chap. vii), observing the natural development which the Law and the Prophets show. Now it is in place to seek the processes through which the third division of the Hebrew Bible, the Writings, came to be a recognized and closed collection of books.

In this search we should recall, from chapter i, how Jesus and the authors of the New Testament books seem not to have had the Writings as a definite collection. No one of the New Testament speakers or writers refers to it. In view of this we cannot expect to find in the Bible any evidence of the formation of the third division of the Hebrew Bible as a whole. We can only study the growth of the several books, but there are some items of material in such a study which make it particularly useful.

It has been already noticed (pp. 8–9) that the Book of Psalms was the portion of the Writings most used in New Testament times, and that the Psalms ordinarily have stood first among the books of the third division of the Hebrew Scriptures. To the Psalms then we naturally give first attention in the present chapter.

While most readers of the Bible are accustomed to think of the Psalms as a single book, they are really a combination of five books. The Authorized Version unfortunately has never revealed this. In the Revised Version, however, the fact is easily seen, the divisions being noted and a separate title given for each division. Thus the student is advised that the five books in the Hebrew are arranged as follows: Book I, Pss. 1–41; Book II, Pss. 42–72; Book III, Pss. 73–89; Book IV, Pss. 90–106; Book V, Pss. 107–150.

At once there is a desire to know how it came about that the Israelites regarded the Psalms as a book of five parts, or, more accurately, why the scribes of Israel preserved their marvelous collection of sacred songs in five divisions. We must therefore examine some of the data offered by the Psalms in reply to the question before us.

The ordinary reader, even though faithful in his use of the Bible, may not have noticed that some of the psalms are almost exact duplicates of others. Students of the history of the Psalms, however, have discovered that such repetitions occur, and it will be helpful here to consider some of them. This may best be done by such parallelism as I have used in the case of the composite narrative of the Law and the Prophets. One of the striking instances is that of Ps. 14 when compared with Ps. 53.

Ps. 14	Ps. 53
The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. They are corrupt, they have done abominable works; There is none that doeth good.	The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. Corrupt are they, and have done abominable iniquity; There is none that doeth good.

Ps. 14	Ps. 53
Jehovah looked down from heaven upon the children of men,	God looked down from heaven upon the children of men,
To see if there were any that did understand,	To see if there were any that did understand,
That did seek after God.	That did seek after God.
They are all gone aside; they are together become filthy;	Every one of them is gone back; they are together become filthy;
There is none that doeth good, no, not one.	There is none that doeth good, no, not one.
Have all the workers of iniquity no knowledge,	Have all the workers of iniquity no knowledge,
Who eat up my people as they eat bread,	Who eat up my people as they eat bread,
And call not upon the name of Jehovah?	And call not upon God?
There were they in great fear;	There were they in great fear where no fear was;
For God is in the generation of the righteous.	For God hath scattered the bones of him that encampeth against thee:
Ye put to shame the counsel of the poor,	Thou hast put them to shame,
Because Jehovah is his refuge.	because God hath rejected them.
Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion!	Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion!
When Jehovah bringeth back the captivity of his people,	When God bringeth back the captivity of his people,
Then shall Jacob rejoice, and Israel shall be glad.	Then shall Jacob rejoice, and Israel shall be glad.

Two or three points at least need to be noticed in the comparison. One of these is that the Fourteenth Psalm is in the first of the five books and the Fifty-third in the second book. Again, in the Fifty-third Psalm the name Jehovah does not appear; the title God takes its place. Further, there are some verbal differences in details, especially in the latter part of the Psalms. Apparently one of the Psalms is a revision of the other. This is the simplest explanation of what one sees, and it is an entirely natural explanation, the more appealing in view

of what we have observed concerning the editing which occurred in the Law and the Prophets. It may be noted in addition that the title given to the Fifty-third Psalm is different from that given to the Fourteenth.

There are two other similar duplications in the Psalms, each of them even more suggestive in some respects than the duplication just considered. Psalm 40:13–17 is duplicated in the five verses of Ps. 70, this being another repetition of a part of the first of the five books as a portion of the second book, but differing from the case we have noticed in that a part of Ps. 40 is reproduced in the second book as an entire psalm. Further comparison of details may be left to the reader.

The third instance of duplication shows the reverse process: Ps. 57:7–11 of the second book has been combined with Ps. 60:5–12 of the second book to form Ps. 108 of the fifth book, and the title given to the new formation disregards most of the material in the titles of the two from which it was taken.

The reader probably has no difficulty in agreeing that where these duplications occur the second form is a revision, or combination with revision, of the other psalm or psalms. It will readily be seen also that the five books composing our single Book of Psalms are undoubtedly five separate collections, each very probably belonging to its own period of Israelitish life and finally brought together into the national hymnal, certain duplications being retained. In modern times we have an analogous development in the several numbers of the *Gospel Hymns*, popularly known as the *Moody and Sankey Hymns*, which suggests another similarity. Just as these modern songs bear that popular title, even

though many of them did not come from either Moody or Sankey, so the Book of Psalms is frequently called the Psalms of David, though a very superficial examination of the titles of the Psalms shows that many of them are not even ascribed to David, and a considerable number are specifically ascribed to other Israelitish poets. (In a similar way, no doubt, we have come to speak of the Law of Moses, giving to the entire body of Israelitish legislation the name which was attached to the first collection.)

Thus the Book of Psalms in itself alone is a striking example of the principle of growth which we have found exemplified everywhere in the formation of the Hebrew Bible. When the process began we are unable to say. That it received a special and enduring impetus from the son of Jesse is indicated by the place which the name of David has always received in connection with the Israelitish hymns. How long the process continued is equally difficult to state with certainty. It seems not to have been completed when the Prophets were set apart some two hundred years B.C., or the Psalms would then have been accorded similar distinction and honor. On the other hand, the collection, through its use in the days of Jesus and the apostles, offers its own evidence that it was then established and accepted.

It will not be amiss, before we pass from consideration of the Book of Psalms, to note two or three other bits of information which the book provides. One of these is the language of Ps. 72:20, which is not a part of the psalm, properly speaking, but an editorial note affixed to the second of the five books, or possibly intended as a comment upon both Book I and Book II. The language

is: "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended." In other words, the Davidic psalms known to the author of that note had all been included in the second, or in the first and second together, of the five Books of Psalms. The question of how there come to be psalms assigned to David in each of the other three books we may pass, since the answer is not easy, particularly from material afforded by the Psalms themselves.

I called attention on page 79 to the fact that the reviser of Ps. 14, who gave it the form which we call Ps. 53, substituted the title God for the name Jehovah as a part of his revision. This change may indicate only a personal preference. It might, however, reveal a type of thought characteristic of much of the national feeling. In either case it is suggestive to compare these uses of the divine titles with uses which occur in the Hexateuch, for example in the first and second chapters of Genesis. In the first chapter, or rather through the third verse of the second chapter, the title God alone is employed, while following that there is a combination of Jehovah and God into a single title, Jehovah God, and elsewhere in the further narrative we often find Jehovah alone.

Do all these usages concerning the divine names, together with what we have discovered concerning the sources of the Law and the Prophets, offer a suggestion concerning the literary history of the Old Testament writings? May it be that the kingdom of Judah came to prefer the use of the name Jehovah and the kingdom of Israel the use of the title God? In view of their rivalry in other respects such preferences certainly would not have been strange. And is it possible that, after both kingdoms had passed away and the Israelitish

priestly scribes in Babylonia in the midst of polytheism felt the need of emphasizing monotheism, they were led to use the title God rather than the national name Jehovah? Apparently they may have done so. Such usage would not have been unnatural. Rather it would have come easily out of the situation as we now know it. And is it out of such a situation that the use of Jehovah, Jehovah God, and God, as we find these titles in the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms, arose and therein find their explanation? Obviously this is not impossible; and it may be well to hold this suggestion of the Bible itself in mind until we have other evidence, either to disprove or to confirm.

In estimating this suggestion, especially in view of the terms which are used by modern writers on the Old Testament, we should know that the Hebrew word for God is transliterated Elohim (pronounced eloheém). With this the reader should recall the familiar fact that the divine name for the deity of the Israelites is transliterated in the Revised Version as Jehovah. It is then seen that the initial letters of the two Hebrew titles for the deity are *E* and *J*. At the same time it should be known that Jehovah is not an actual transliteration of the divine name. This Hebrew name was held so sacred among the people of Israel that, far back in the Old Testament times, they stopped pronouncing it, and, as only the consonants of the language were written, only the consonants of the name have come down to us. These, as usually transliterated, are *J* (or *Y*) *h v* (or *w*) *h*, and are called by scholars "the tetragrammaton," that is, "the four-character" ("name" or "word" being supplied in thought).

Where this divine name occurrs in the Hebrew, Israelitish readers pronounce the word for master, lord. This Hebrew word is ordinarily transliterated adonai. Israelites still say "Adonai" when in reading they come to the divine name. Christians, however, as early as the fourteenth or the fifteenth century began to combine the two words, pronouncing the consonants *J h v h* with modifications of the vowels of adonai. We should expect perhaps as an outcome such a word as Jahovaih, but it did not come into use. Instead, one of the earliest results of the combination of the two words was the form Johouah. Later the form Jehovah was adopted. This is now known not only to be a hybrid term but also to have no good linguistic basis for its vowels.

Careful investigations have been made concerning the original pronunciation of the divine name itself, that is, investigations to discover the vowel sounds which were originally a part of the name. These investigations offer different possibilities, such as Jahveh, Jahvah, or even Yahu. Also, since the *J* is pronounced somewhat like *Y*, and the *v* represents a Hebrew character pronounced quite like *w*, as suggested above, the name is sometimes written Yahweh; and still other variations occur, showing that scholars are still much in doubt as to what the original pronunciation was.

The makers of the Revised Version naturally shrank from such a radical change as the adoption of any one of the preceding forms. Their simplest course was to employ the name already somewhat in use, Jehovah. As a result, the readers of even the Revised Version are unacquainted with what knowledge we have concerning the name as it was used by the Israelites in early times.

While this study of the titles for God may have seemed to take us aside from our main theme, it really has only thrown light on it and has given opportunity to observe how the study of the Psalms is not only significant in itself but also an aid in understanding the use of terms in a study of the growth of the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings; and I have merely called attention to aspects of the Psalms which are most important for the history of the book and for the history of the Old Testament. Passing by other interesting questions, therefore, we may now approach the second of the books in the collection of the Writings.

The study of the Book of Proverbs approaches in interest that of the Psalms. Though it does not afford such varied data concerning its history, it furnishes sufficient to illuminate the development of the book. The study should be made with the Revised Version, of course, which reveals something of the poetic character of this piece of literature, as well as hints concerning its authorship, which the Authorized Version conceals or obscures.

We first notice the title contained in the first verse: "The proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel." All thoughtful readers of the book have considered it at one time or another. Ordinarily the reader assumes, with naturalness, that this is a title for the entire book. If he reads carefully through the book, however, he discovers in the first verse of the tenth chapter that a similar title, but briefer, "The proverbs of Solomon," is given as though nothing of the sort had already been written. Such a title at this point can

hardly have been an insertion into the completed book. An insertion of such a sort would be absurd. Instead of thinking of the title here as an insertion, it is easiest to understand that in it we have the beginning of an original collection of proverbs ascribed to Solomon, that chapters 1 to 9 are another collection, or possibly collections, and that the title in 10:1 was retained in its place when the two collections were brought together. Already then, even without going farther, we have evidence from the Book of Proverbs itself that it is a growth. Moreover, as the title in 10:1 reads "The" proverbs of Solomon, the collection included under that title appears to have been supposed by the compiler to be all of the proverbs of the wise king then known. In this matter, however, the reader who does not understand the Hebrew language must be warned that the Hebrew expression is hardly as definite as the English, and the title may be translated simply, "Proverbs of Solomon," though perhaps that is not the most natural rendering. Whatever the rendering, it does not change the obvious fact that already in the first half of the Book of Proverbs we have at least two collections of Solomonic sayings.

Further observant reading shows that the book as it now stands contains still other collections. One of these begins with 22:17 and is attributed to "the wise," though even the Revised Version leaves the title obscure. It becomes clearer, however, as soon as one reads on to 24:23 and finds the title, "These also are sayings of the wise," thus showing that we have here two short collections of proverbs each ascribed to the well-known men called "the wise."

When we arrive at the twenty-fifth chapter a further title is no less striking and significant, for we read, "These also are proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out." Here then we are introduced not only to a new collection, and one attributed to Solomon, but to one which definitely dates itself as later than the days of Hezekiah. How it came about that so long after the life of Solomon sayings purporting to come from him were brought together and attached to a compilation of at least four collections of proverbs, two of which were ascribed to other authors than Solomon, we need not pause now to discuss. We must be impressed, however, with the manifest evidence that the Book of Proverbs as a whole is a slowly gathered compilation of various Israelitish sayings.

There are still two other titles in the book which heighten this impression. Chapter 30 is introduced as "The words of Agur the son of Jakeh," and at the opening of chapter 31 we find the heading, "The words of king Lemuel; the oracle which his mother taught him," or, as the Revisers have suggested in the margin, and certainly a very interesting title, "The words of Lemuel king of Massa, which his mother taught him." Accordingly, in the Book of Proverbs as a whole we have at least seven different collections of wise sayings manifestly assembled at the end of a somewhat extended period, time enough having elapsed between two of the Solomonic collections for two others to have been attached to one of the earlier collections assigned to the wise son of David.

In addition to the foregoing it should not be forgotten that the book belongs to the third division of the Hebrew

Bible, none of which up to the time of the son of Sirach, some two centuries B.C., had yet become recognized as on a par with the Law and the Prophets in estimate and use among the Israelites in Palestine, though a more exalted position seems to have been accorded some of these writings among the sons of Israel in Egypt. As in the case of the Psalms, however, though to a much less extent, the Proverbs were used as Scripture by the New Testament writers (cf. p. 9).

In the Book of Job there is comparatively little to indicate its origin, or the time from which it came. This is largely true even of the Hebrew; it is even more the case with the English Version, which cannot carry over the literary hints of the original language. There are, however, some outstanding facts. One of these is that the book is chiefly a poetical work and is the outcome of the highest poetical art. If the poetry of this book is compared with the poems imbedded in the Law and the Prophets, however, striking differences in form and thought will be apparent at once. In addition to these differences the Book of Job is a long composition and exhibits poetic skill of a sustained character as well as remarkable in quality.

Another important fact of the book, as bearing on the question of the period from which it arose, is its theme, the age-long problem of evil and the suffering of good men. This characteristic differentiates it from the early poetry of Israel. The author was a philosopher as well as a poet. As philosophy is a relatively late type of reflection, the very nature of the subject-matter of Job indicates that it belongs to the later period of Israelitish literature. This accords with its place in the third

division of the Old Testament. Altogether the hints of the book itself imply that it was written at least later than the majority of the Law and the Prophets. Its ordinary place among the Writings, third in the list, may be due to its length, next to that of Psalms, together with its being regarded as subordinate to the book bearing the name of the great king, Solomon.

The Song of Songs is the first of the five books designated pre-eminently by the Israelites as the five Megilloth, or rolls, which were read in connection with the celebrations of the five leading sacred days of the nation. The Song of Songs was used with the Passover, Ruth at Pentecost, Lamentations at the ninth of the month Ab observed for the destruction of Jerusalem, Ecclesiastes at the feast of Booths, and Esther at the feast of Purim. In view of these facts it is proper to observe that these five writings are arranged together and in the above-mentioned order in the third division of the Hebrew Bible, and we may consider them in the order in which they appear.

The Song of Songs, like the Book of Job, has little evidence within it to show the period from which it arose or what led to its arrangement following Job in the sacred collection. Possibly the five Megilloth first attained a special sanction in relation to the five sacred days, then came to be attached to each other, and later were given place next in importance to the Psalms, Proverbs, and Job. At any rate the position which they have among the Writings, particularly as following the relatively late Book of Job, suggests that they were written late in the development of Israel's literature, or were late in being recognized as of superior worth and

sacredness. It is not out of harmony with this that the Song of Songs is dedicated to Solomon, since this heading, like headings of portions of the Prophets, of some of the Psalms, and parts of the Book of Proverbs, is most naturally to be regarded as the title attached to the book when it was given its final revision and form. When this occurred, we are left quite in doubt. When the book, with its four companion Megilloth, was given a secure place among the closed collection of the Writings there is nothing even in the New Testament to indicate. It is possible, therefore, that the Writings became a definite collection only after the days of Jesus and Paul, and that the Song was not regarded as sacred until Jesus and the apostle had completed their work.

In the case of the Book of Ruth we are aided somewhat more, but not at all as we should desire. There is enough, however, to make clear that the book deals with events and customs long previous to the period of the author. This is seen from the opening words, "the days when the judges judged," a period evidently long anterior to the writing of the book. It is seen also from the parenthesis of 4:7, "Now this was the custom in former times in Israel," and from the genealogy in 4:18–22, which carries the composition past the days of David and, for the student of Hebrew, in view of some of the words used, perhaps indicates a date as far along as the exile. The fact that the book has a place among the Megilloth and in the midst of the Writings makes it appear probable, for the same reasons as in the case of the Song of Songs, that it belongs to the later days of the literary development of Israel. Pointing in the same direction is the delicate and charming dignity given to

the marriage between an Israelite and a woman of foreign birth. In the earlier literature the question of inter marriage with non-Israelites is not discussed; such unions were taken for granted. In the very late Book of Nehemiah (13:23–31) the subject is considered, and such unions are put under the ban. The Book of Ruth reads like a quiet and felicitous protest against the new and narrow point of view.

Lamentations, the third of the Megilloth, is another exquisitely beautiful poem whose literary charm can be only poorly reproduced in English dress. The fact that the poem is a dirge in no respect lessens its beauty. From the book itself we are aided little in discovering the time and place of the author. He was least of all concerned about preserving such marks of origin, and we are left in extreme doubt. Indeed there are some indications to the Hebrew student that this poem, like others we have considered, may be a compilation, the outgrowth of two or more of the unknown poets whom Israel produced. Traditionally it is connected with the prophet Jeremiah, and there is no impossibility that some of his poetic oracles may have been a basis for the poem as it now stands. Its place among the Writings, however, for reasons such as we have noted in the other Megilloth, perhaps points to a relatively late period as the time of its composition or compilation.

As Lamentations bears a title which amounts to a dedication to the prophet Jeremiah, so the first verse of the Book of Ecclesiastes looks backward to the days of King Solomon. Other than this dedication to the wise king, as though he were the writer of the work, it contains nothing to refer its composition to an early period of

Israelitish literary history. Its place among the Writings, its philosophic attitude and method of thought, its entire unlikeness to the literary remains of the Solomonic days, and the characteristics of its language for the Hebrew student all lead toward a date after the exile as the time of its composition. With these considerations its position as the fourth of the Megilloth, suggesting the same conclusion, should be kept in mind as we pass on to the Book of Esther.

Esther, as the fifth of the Megilloth, gives far more material to guide in forming some opinion as to the time when it was written. The book recounts certain incidents which are connected with the reign of King Ahasuerus of Persia, whom we know better in history as Xerxes, whose rule began about 485 B.C. From the first verse of the book we learn that the writer was far enough removed from the time of Xerxes so that the period of that king is referred to as "those days." This leaves no doubt that our story of Esther was written some decades or generations after Xerxes' time, and thus may well belong to the fourth or third century B.C. Even if it were composed as early as about the year 400, the material which it offers in its relation to the other Megilloth and the Writings as a whole is indicative of a relatively late date both for itself and its companion books.

The Book of Daniel, for the reader of the English Bible, gives the chief surprise when it is presented as a work which belongs to the later periods of Israel's literary activity. The surprise is due to the fact that the reader has grown up accustomed to think of Daniel as one of the prophets and of the Book of Daniel as

belonging to the prophetic writings. The place of the book in the arrangement of the English translations has made this thought most natural. The reader of the Hebrew Bible has no such difficulty, except as he may have been first only a reader of the English and may have experienced something of a shock when, for the first time, he became aware of the place which the Book of Daniel holds among the Israelitish works themselves. Recognizing then that Daniel not only belongs among the Writings but follows the Book of Esther, which, as we have seen, leaves no doubt as to the late date of its authorship, we are eager to see directly what the Book of Daniel furnishes to explain the place which was assigned to it by the scribes of Israel.

Turning to the book, then, we observe that it makes no claim to have been written by Daniel; instead it is an account in the third person, a story about Daniel written at some period later than that to which he is assigned by the author. The language in the book which is ascribed to Daniel is, in substance, quotations which are embodied by the author within his own work. We are left, therefore, to material in the book, or to what we can learn about it from other sources, for our information as to the date when the writing was composed and the author from whom it came. Our method of study gives first place to what the book itself presents.

Daniel is introduced to us as one of the captives carried away at the time of the exile. At some later period the author describes events which he connects with the remarkable career of Daniel and some of his companions. Such a portrayal might have been within two or three generations, or it might easily have been

much later. The book may have been written, accordingly, anywhere from 550 B.C. down to the time when the several books included in the Writings were brought together, that is, as late as the time of Jesus himself, or later.

As an aid to some more definite period within those broad limits, two or three considerations may be noted. We should keep in mind that the place which the book occupies among the Writings, far along in the third division of the Hebrew Bible, is undoubtedly significant. We may recall, as mentioned on page 9, the high regard in which the book was held in the days of the New Testament, or rather when the Apocalypse of John (the Book of Revelation) was written, and may place this in connection with the fact that the book appears not to have gained any recognition until after the Prophets became a closed collection, about 200 B.C. It is entirely possible then, if not probable, that this story of visions was composed as late as the second century before the time of Jesus, and yet, in view of its special character, attained to the distinction it enjoyed in the apostolic days, though only two or three centuries had passed since it was written.

The "special character" of the Book of Daniel and the exceptional attention which was given it by the author of the last book of the New Testament are worthy of further thought. Indeed the two facts are so closely related as to be essentially one. This is to be seen in part from the Greek title of our Book of Revelation. That title is Apocalypse. The service which it renders is to connect the last book of the New Testament with the considerable number of writings outside the Bible

which are also apocalypses. The word apocalypse means "that which reveals," so that the mission of apocalyptic literature in general was the revealing of the future. This may be seen from the reading of any one of these books. The writers of this literature made use of the great names in the history of Israel for working out this apocalyptic idea. Thus there are apocalyptic books connected with the names of Moses, Isaiah, Ezra, and others.

To this class of apocalyptic literature the Book of Daniel obviously belongs, since its chief purpose is to picture things from the time of Daniel, the days of the exile, on to later times. This constitutes its special character. In this fact we may well have some hint concerning the period of its composition.

It will be sufficient for the purpose in hand if the reader will turn to the eleventh chapter of Daniel, begin at the fortieth verse, read carefully to the end of the chapter, and observe how peoples and places are mentioned specifically, and how the narrative deals with details. Let these facts impress themselves clearly. Then read on into the twelfth chapter, notice how the language soon becomes general rather than specific, how it begins to lose grasp of details, and how the author represents Daniel himself as being quite in doubt concerning the things which are to occur.

Now let the reader turn to the Apocalypse and observe the language in 1:3: "for the time is at hand." The writer warns the reader at the very outset of the book that it deals with events then present. Turn now to 22:10 and find the same significant words repeated: "for the time is at hand."

One sees directly that the writer of the Apocalypse was not looking to a distant future for the realization of the pictures he portrayed. He was manifestly writing of things which were part of his own time. The visions of his book are apocalyptic pictures of things which were conceived as consummating just then. In a word, he had employed pictures to describe events known to his readers, national events connected with Greek, Macedonian, and Roman powers, and would have his readers see the meaning of these events at the moment. In short, he was writing well-known history in the form of prediction, putting it in the form of symbol as the one which would best serve the needs of those for whom he had been led to pen a book of sympathy, comfort, consolation, and renewal of needed courage.

The Book of Daniel does not, in so many words, advise its readers that "the time is at hand." It does, however, as clearly as the Book of Revelation, deal with events consummating at the time the book was written. This is the meaning of such language as that at the close of the eleventh chapter, referred to above; and it is equally clear from the figurative mention of a relatively few days in the twelfth chapter (vss. 11, 12).

In other words, the apocalyptic writer, when he passes from the narration of details of history to the general forecast of release from the dreadful conditions which he depicts, thereby tells us the time out of which he writes. If his symbolic language is sufficiently definite to permit us to identify the events to which he refers, we can discover quite accurately the date of his authorship. It is as though an American writer in 1917 should write the history of the United States up to that

moment, sketching events largely by symbols, and then, in the face of world-carnage, after quite specific reference to present events, should close his book with general suggestions concerning the world-outcome. The future student of American history, acquainted with the events of the year 1917, would be able to ascertain from the supposed American apocalyptic itself that it was written in the third or fourth year of the world-war.

Definition apocalyps

Altogether an apocalypse, briefly described, is chiefly history written in the form of prediction. The Book of Daniel is such a work. The writer of the book surveyed selected aspects of Israelitish and related history up to his own time, describing the events largely in symbol, doing this with considerable detail, and then, in what we call the twelfth chapter, sketched a general outcome from such history and immediate conditions. The desperate situation in which the Israelitish nation found itself was quite sufficient occasion for such method of approach. A preacher-historian of another nation might not have adopted such a method; it was adopted in Israel and served its purpose. As a result the Book of Daniel is the classic representative of Israelitish apocalyptic literature and presents to us this type of writing in its most exalted form. For a fuller understanding of its significance one should read the encyclopedia articles on apocalyptic literature and the works there referred to. It is sufficient for our purpose here to discover, as we have, how the Book of Daniel itself, when properly approached, discloses its apocalyptic character and gives the key to its understanding.

Desperate situation Israel.

Using the key to discover the date of the Book of Daniel, what do we find? The answer has already been

suggested as emerging from the material at the close of the eleventh chapter. There are indications in other portions of the book also. Without taking space to discuss the possibilities in detail, it will be enough for the purpose of this study to say that careful examination of the work has led to the conclusion that the material symbolically presented in the book points to the terrible Maccabean struggle against Antiochus Epiphanes as the time out of which the author wrote. This makes the date of composition about 165 B.C., and the conclusion fits in with the considerations of literary form and place of the book among the Writings, as we have already noted the possibilities in those directions.

We have yet to consider the growth of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles, and these may fittingly be taken up together because of the relationship which exists between the two books.

While Ezra-Nehemiah precedes Chronicles in the Hebrew Bible, the material included in Chronicles deals with time previous to that covered by Ezra-Nehemiah. This may be seen by noticing that Chronicles presents an outline sketch of history from the beginning of time to the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, and that the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah continues that history. This relationship is so pronounced that the last two verses of Chronicles are repeated as the beginning of Ezra-Nehemiah (Ezra 1:1–3*a*). The style of language also is an indication to the student of Hebrew that the two books come from a single author, or school of authors.

Accordingly the date of composition of the entire work is not earlier than the latest of the events mentioned. These may be the portion of the genealogies

contained in I Chron. 3:19–24, which seems to carry the lists of names six generations later than Zerubbabel and so perhaps as far along as 350 or 325 B.C. With these indications of date it should be kept in mind that the main structure of Ezra-Nehemiah is regularly in the third person and shows how the events narrated belonged to the past, perhaps some distance in the past. The addresses of the leaders, Ezra and others, are quotations embodied in the main structure by the compiler. Altogether, then, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, as a continuous sketch of one aspect of Israel's history, is manifestly a late work. Though earlier, it may be, than the Book of Daniel, it was placed last in the arrangement of the Writings, very likely because at the time the arrangement was made Daniel was more highly regarded and was given the preference of order. This inference seems the more natural when we remember, as stated on page 15, that the final arrangement of the Writings had not occurred in the New Testament times, when the Book of Daniel was receiving far greater attention than any of the other books of the Writings except Psalms.

Before we leave Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah it is worth while to recall some of the sources which this outline history mentions, since they may otherwise be overlooked, though they are significant. There is, for example, the source, or rather list of sources, contained in I Chron. 29:29, where we read: "Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold, they are written in the history of Samuel the seer, and in the history of Nathan the prophet, and in the history of Gad the seer. . . . ." This statement is informing because it cites sources for the history of the times of David which are

not referred to in the Book of Kings (cf. pp. 28–29). Apparently, therefore, these sources are relatively late, later than the compilation of the Prophets, and not at all contemporary with the events with which they dealt.

With the foregoing it is well to place the language found in II Chron. 9:29 as follows: "Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, first and last, are they not written in the history of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of Iddo the seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat?" Thus two further sources are indicated in addition to those in the previous quotation, sources which are not mentioned among those which were used for the compilation of the Book of Kings.

It is equally suggestive to think of the source material referred to in II Chron. 12:15: "Now the acts of Rehoboam, first and last, are they not written in the histories of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer, after the manner of genealogies?" Thus we have not only a further source of the Chronicles but also an intimation concerning the nature of these sources; they were primarily genealogies. Indirectly we are advised how, in the later periods of Israelitish life, some of her writers gave special attention to the study of family and tribal relationships. The Book of Chronicles itself is evidence of that fact.

We have now completed our survey of the growth of the Hebrew Bible, our Old Testament, as that growth is to be learned from the writings themselves. The survey is hardly more than an outline and has nothing of the completeness which full consideration of all the material would require. Completeness, however, has

been no part of my purpose. I have had in mind rather the point of view and the method of approach which the Bible itself offers as the proper one for those who desire to learn how the Scriptures have come to us.

As an outcome of our survey some impressions are distinct. We are aware that the Old Testament is the final result of a long series of compilations coming from the hands of various compilers who employed many sources and sources of various kinds. A careful study of the life of the people and their circumstances would disclose how such a course of literary development was natural, and why one should not be surprised that the Bible reveals the development which he finds.

One is likely to have received another impression equally significant. He feels that the order of the writings in the Hebrew Bible is largely the order in which the various books were completed and accepted as the component parts of the sacred writings of the nation. There are exceptions, some of which have been indicated and discussed, but on the whole the order of the books as they are preserved is very much the order in which they were compiled. If this is kept in mind it makes much easier the effort to locate the Old Testament books in the order in which they arose.

It should be remembered, however, that the order of the present books does not necessarily correspond with the order of origin of the sources. Frequently the compilers brought together sources from widely separate periods of literary development. In the Book of Genesis, for example, we have side by side a late account of the creation (Gen. 1:1—2:4*a*) and the much earlier account contained in the following verses. The compiler

regarded the later account as better for the opening of his narrative and gave it the place of preference. It is the compilation, this combining of the different accounts near the days of Ezra, which shows the chronological place of our present Book of Genesis and the beginning of our Old Testament.

The Book of Psalms is another outstanding example of the combination of early sources with late and of the late formation of the work as a whole. Some of the separate psalms, or portions of them, were composed in an early day. The persistent connection of the name of David with the collected work carries us back to his time as that when the beginnings occurred. But the collection as a whole, with its five divisions, may date from the New Testament period, or the days not long before.

The order of development is particularly manifest in the arrangement of the three general divisions of the Hebrew Bible, the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. First the Law was developed and became a distinct and definite collection of sacred literature, about 450 B.C. About two and one-half centuries later the Prophets arrived at a similar point of recognition. Neither the Old Testament nor the New gives any information as to when the third division of the Hebrew Scriptures became a distinct collection and assumed its place following the other two. Apparently the Writings did not attain this position until after the days of Jesus and Paul and after the composition of many of the New Testament books.

CHAPTER IX

THE HEBREW BIBLE TRANSLATED INTO GREEK

The quotation from the Prologue of the Book of Ecclesiasticus (p. 11) has already called attention to the translating of Hebrew literature into Greek. The author of the Prologue made such a translation of some of the works of his grandfather. This occurred in the second half of the second century B.C.

That this was not the first time that Hebrew thought was translated and given a Greek dress is easily seen. From much earlier days, as every student of Greek and Egyptian history knows, there had been Greek colonies in Egypt, and their language and literature had assumed a prominent place in the land of the Pharaohs, particularly for purposes of business and commerce. As Greeks had gone to the attractive Egyptian shores and adapted themselves and their language to the new conditions, so had many of the sons of Israel. How early Israelitish emigration into the land of the Nile occurred may be seen from such statements as those in Isa. 11:11, 27:13, Zech. 10:10, and especially the long account beginning at Jer. 42:13 and continuing through the forty-fourth chapter. As early as about 600 B.C., accordingly, many of the Israelites went to Egypt to live. While there is nothing to indicate that they soon forgot their native tongue, it is very certain that in the passing of generations, with the adaptability which has ever characterized them, they became familiar with the Greek

language, already a chief medium of trade in Egypt, and found themselves largely dependent upon it.

One of the chief evidences for the preceding statements is the translation of the Old Testament into Greek. This translation is ordinarily called the Septuagint. This title, from the Latin word *septuaginta*, meaning "seventy," is later than the translation and connects it with the tradition of its origin as given, for example, by Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews* xii. 2), according to which the Old Testament in Greek was the work of seventy (or seventy-two) translators invited from Palestine to Egypt by Ptolemy Philadelphus about 275 B.C. From what we have already gathered concerning the origin and growth of the Old Testament, it is evident that all of it was not translated into Greek as early as the third century B.C.; the Book of Daniel at least, at that date, appears not yet to have been written. At the same time, what we have noted of the way in which Jews went to Egypt as early as the days of Jeremiah makes clear that their descendants, as far back as the third century B.C., may very naturally have become so adapted to the Greek language as to feel the need for a translation of some of their Hebrew Scriptures, particularly the Law, and thus a beginning of the translation may have been made. We need not stop for the present to ascertain when the translation was completed.

It is more important, for the immediate purposes of our study, to notice what the contents of the Old Testament in Greek are, and what they indicate concerning the growth of the Bible as a whole. Fortunately this is comparatively easy, since the Septuagint has come

down to us and is easily accessible not only for the Greek student but also in English translation. Indeed the Greek has been preserved in somewhat variant forms. These variations, however, are not serious as far as the main contents and the order of the books are concerned; in fact, the differences may furnish some aid in ascertaining the growth which we desire to understand.

In our search we may best make use of the edition of Henry Barclay Swete, the most recent and published in such form as to be easily used, as it is considered the most accurate. The full title is *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint.* It was issued in three volumes by the Cambridge University Press, the first volume appearing in 1887, the second in 1891, and the third in 1894.

On opening these volumes we are at once impressed with the order in which the books appear, for, transliterated into their ordinary English forms, they are as follows:

1. Genesis
2. Exodus
3. Leviticus
4. Numbers
5. Deuteronomy
6. Joshua
7. Judges
8. Ruth
9. I Kings
10. II Kings
11. III Kings
12. IV Kings
13. I Chronicles
14. II Chronicles
15. I Ezra
16. II Ezra
17. Psalms
18. Proverbs
19. Ecclesiastes
20. Song of Songs
21. Job
22. Wisdom of Solomon
23. Ecclesiasticus
24. Esther
25. Judith
26. Tobit
27. Hosea
28. Amos
29. Micah
30. Joel

31. Obadiah
32. Jonah
33. Nahum
34. Habakkuk
35. Zephaniah
36. Haggai
37. Zechariah
38. Malachi
39. Isaiah
40. Jeremiah
41. Baruch
42. Lamentations
43. Epistle of Jeremiah
44. Ezekiel
45. Daniel
46. Susanna
47. Bel and the Dragon
48. I Maccabees
49. II Maccabees
50. III Maccabees
51. IV Maccabees
52. Psalms of Solomon

The reader of the English Bible observes in these titles much that is familiar, and he is equally impressed with considerable which appears strange. Of the familiar names, I Kings and II Kings appear in place of the two Books of Samuel, III Kings and IV Kings replace I Kings and II Kings, I Ezra and II Ezra are new, one looks for Nehemiah in vain, and the order of the various books of the Prophets is quite unexpected.

The unfamiliar titles, however, probably make the chief impression. They are Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit, Baruch, Epistle of Jeremiah, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, the four Books of Maccabees, and the Psalms of Solomon, altogether thirteen.

One notices also that the threefold division of the Hebrew Bible is disregarded. The books of the Law retain their position at the head of the list and in the familiar order, but the Prophets as we have found them collected and emphasized as the second main division of the Hebrew Scriptures are scattered and rearranged, the so-called Minor Prophets receiving precedence in place. The Writings have been handled as freely as the Prophets.

The reader at once desires an explanation of what is before him. Unfortunately the explanation is not wholly easy to give. There are, however, some aids toward an explanation. One of these is the fact that the books of the preceding list, substantially in that order and number, composed the Old Testament of the early Christians. Professor Swete, in his edition of the Septuagint, merely reproduced the contents of the ancient Vatican manuscript, as far as it contains the Old Testament, and supplied what it lacks from other similar manuscripts. These ancient manuscripts were written in the fourth or fifth century A.D. and carry the evidence back that far with certainty. As they give every evidence of having been copied from generally accepted earlier manuscripts, they really show the books which were used by the Christians of the third century, and possibly of the second or first, thus revealing substantially the Old Testament as it was known by those of the apostolic days. Paul himself may have been acquainted with most of the books comprised in the list.

A second aid toward an explanation of the books included in the Greek Old Testament is the fact that the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible began among the Israelites in Egypt, as we have seen above. Whether all the translating was done there we cannot say, but what we do know points to the conclusion that Egypt was the home of this important transfer of the Hebrew Scriptures into the world-language of the time. Alexandria was perhaps the most cosmopolitan city of that age, a center of culture, learning, business, and commerce, and a gathering-place of nations. Such a center always tends to liberality of thought and comprehensiveness of

views, in religion as well as in other affairs. In a situation of that type it was natural that even the sons of Israel should take a wider view of Judaism and her sacred books than was taken in Palestine. They accepted books which were never favorably regarded by their Palestinean brothers; the preceding list, inherited by Christianity from Egyptian Israel, is ample evidence of this. In short, the Old Testament in Greek is easily explained as arising out of the Jewish-Greek life in Egypt. We can understand why so large a number of writings were recognized as Scripture by the Jews in the land of the Nile; it is difficult to find an Israelitish community elsewhere which would have been likely to accept so many books that were unacceptable at Jerusalem.

3. Prologue to Ecclesiasticus

A further aid toward understanding the Old Testament in Greek is furnished in the Prologue to the Book of Ecclesiasticus (quoted on pp. 11–12 above). This aid is the author's threefold mention of books in addition to the Law and the Prologues, books which he evidently regarded as of value similar to that of the two collections named. This regard for those books has already been noted in chapter i (pp. 13). Now we are in better position to feel its significance. There it disclosed a wider field of sacred Jewish literature in Egypt than in Palestine. Now we see that the existence of such a large body of sacred Jewish books in Egypt paved the way for the early Christians to inherit from the Egyptian Israelites a much larger Old Testament than would have come to them from the land of Palestine. The beginnings of the larger Old Testament had occurred in the second, and possibly at the close of

the third, century B.C. as the result of Jewish life about the borders of the Nile.

Thus we have a natural and satisfactory explanation of the origin of the Old Testament in Greek. Concerning the details of the development we are not informed, but the books themselves are evidence that they were translated, or written, where Israelites had adopted the Greek language as their ordinary speech while they remained faithful to the teaching of their fathers and therefore revered their sacred writings.

The words "translated, or written" I have just used intentionally as opening the way to a further important consideration. This is the question whether the thirteen books of the Greek Old Testament, in addition to the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings, were written in Hebrew and translated into Greek, or whether some or all of them were composed in Greek and combined with the Greek translation of those which were composed in Hebrew. Important as the question is, however, we do not need here to discuss it at length. There is need only to mention that the answer evidently hinges on a study of the language of the books. This leads to the conclusion that some of the books were first written in Hebrew, for example, I Maccabees, and that others as certainly were composed in Greek, for example, the Wisdom of Solomon. This is valuable for our study. It shows that the Egyptian Jews did not feel that the use of the Hebrew language was essential as an element of one of their sacred writings.

Along with the facts thus gathered we should notice the meaning of the entire rearrangement of the order of the books of the Old Testament in its Greek

dress. The list itself has already emphasized that rearrangement. It shows that the marked line between the Prophets and the Writings has been removed, and that the books outside of the Law have been combined in an entirely new way, either by accident or as the result of a new idea as to what the arrangement ought to be. Whether by accident or by design, the new arrangement discloses a sense of freedom on the part of those responsible for the change. They undoubtedly knew of the threefold division; the Prologue of Ecclesiasticus is evidence for a knowledge of the Law and the Prophets at least. But even the faithful scribes in Egypt did not feel controlled by the established division, and the Prophets were handled as freely as the later works which Egyptian Jews were led to include in their sacred collection as a whole. One wonders if this means that, as far back as the closing of the Prophets in Palestine, which we have seen to have been as early as 200 B.C., or earlier, the spirit of Judaism in Egypt was of the freer type, and the Prophets as a separate collection never possessed the significance and restraint for Israel in Egypt which they received in Palestine. If such was the fact, it helps to account for the order of the Old Testament books in Greek.

Thus we have the Greek Old Testament, the Septuagint, before us. It claims our interest in the ways that have been mentioned; and it would be almost as attractive in other ways, which must be passed over wholly or nearly so, because they are not essential for the purpose we have in mind. Let me merely mention one of the aspects of the study of the Septuagint.

In the Book of Jeremiah in Hebrew, and in our ordinary English versions, the prophecies against the nations are contained in chapters 46 to 51 inclusive. Not so in the Septuagint. There chapter 25 is broken at the end of verse 13, and the prophecies against the nations are inserted, verse 14 is omitted, and, after the prophecies against the nations have been included, the translation is resumed with 25:15 of the Hebrew and the ordinary English. In addition to that the prophecies against the nations have an arrangement in the Greek entirely different from that in the Hebrew. Still further, as an outcome of all the variations in the Greek book, the Septuagint as a whole is only about seven-eighths the length of the Hebrew.

Such differences between the Hebrew and the Greek of the Book of Jeremiah manifestly raise urgent questions. We want to know how such differences arose, and we are likely to ask whether the translator, or translators, omitted portions of the Hebrew text.

It is quite possible, of course, that the translator omitted parts of the Hebrew. To assume that he did, however, does not account for the entire rearrangement of the prophecies in the Septuagint. Ordinarily too a translator is more disposed to make additions to his text, so that the translation is longer than the original, these additions being helpful as explanations for the readers of the translation.

In short, we seem compelled to look beyond the translator for a key to the facts which the Book of Jeremiah presents. As soon as we do this and recall how some of the Hebrew Old Testament at least was translated into Greek previous to the gathering of the

prophetic writings into a single collection about 200 B.C., there is offered as an explanation of the facts in hand the probability that the Septuagint of Jeremiah was translated from an earlier and briefer edition of the book than the Hebrew we now have. In other words, the simplest explanation of the differences between the Septuagint and the Hebrew Jeremiah is to think that the process of growth through which the book began to pass from the time of the prophet himself continued after the Septuagint translation was produced, and that the later revisers and editors of the Hebrew work reconstructed and enlarged its contents. This is a simple method of understanding the growth of the Book of Jeremiah, and it is in harmony with the evidences of growth of the entire Old Testament, as we have observed these evidences, which appear from the literature itself. The experiences through which the Book of Daniel has passed are perhaps as suggestive as those of Jeremiah. Space need not be taken here, however, to exhibit details. These would merely impress once more the free handling which the Old Testament received among the Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt and the continued editorial activities of the Hebrew scribes themselves.

In this chapter thus far I have pointed out chiefly the relation of the Old Testament in Greek to the Hebrew, from which most of it was translated, and the naturalness with which the Greek included various writings in addition to those contained in the Hebrew. This is worth while for its own sake. Those who wish to be informed concerning the Bible need to be conversant with such facts because of their own value. It would be un-

just to the modern student of the Bible if the facts were obscured.

The material which has been presented has a more important service, however, than merely to sketch the course of literary movements which resulted in the formation of the Septuagint. That larger service is to furnish a point of contact between the Old Testament and early Christianity, between the Old Testament and the New Testament, and between the Hebrew Old Testament and some of the Christian versions, particularly the Douay, or Roman Catholic, version. We shall see this in more detail as we pass on to the succeeding chapters.

Just here, however, we ought to recall the main reason why the early Christians naturally received the old Testament in Greek, the larger collection of Jewish sacred books, instead of the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings only. This reason is easily seen by the reader of the New Testament. On nearly every page he finds reference to the bitter opposition which arose between the Israelitish leaders in Palestine and those who became the followers of Jesus. There was such opposition, to some extent, outside of Palestine, in Macedonia for example, as the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of Acts relate, but it was not so general as that which Palestine displayed.

Out in the Greek world, accordingly, the disciples of Jesus gained their permanent and most important hold upon the people. Egypt was one of these countries where Christianity thus established itself. Interestingly enough, this success of the gospel in Egypt seems to have been without serious opposition. The

New Testament records no instance of hostility to the gospel story. On the contrary, the very few references to Christian activity in the land of the Nile indicate a favorable attitude toward the new movement. It was to Egypt that Joseph and Mary went as a means of protecting the life of the infant Savior. Among those at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost who listened favorably to the preaching of the apostles were visitors from Egypt and the North African district of Libya farther west (Acts 2:10).

These are the only statements in the New Testament suggesting how the gospel was carried to Egypt and Northern Africa beyond. And yet Northern Africa was early one of the fields of active Christian life and soon became prominent among the fields of Christian influence. We look for an explanation of these facts. We want to know why the seemingly slight effort to sow the seed of Christianity in Northeastern Africa bore so excellent a harvest. An explanation may be found, partly at least, in the liberal attitude of mind which was already characteristic of the people in Egypt and their neighbors.

Thus Egypt and other portions of the Greek world accepted Christianity, and the Christianity which spread over the Greek world naturally received the Old Testament in Greek rather than the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. The acceptance of the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings, the Scriptures of the Jews, would indeed have been a strange event. It was the Hebrew Scriptures that their persecutors from Jerusalem accepted and exalted above all else. The Hebrew Scriptures, unless they were translated, were an unknown

tongue. For Christians to ask translation of them would have been to ask food at the hands of tormentors, when religious sustenance was already their own possession in the Scriptures in Greek.

The Law, the Prophets, and the Writings therefore stood for the time as the sacred books of the Israelites alone. The early Christians, almost without exception, had no need for the Hebrew and were content that it should belong to the Jews only. A few of those who became followers of Jesus retained their devotion to the Hebrew. Paul was one of these, cherishing the ancient Hebrew books as a fountain of the waters of life; but even he and any others of the same learning and type of mind must have used the Greek in their ordinary work, for only the Greek was understood by the majority of the people to whom they went. And the translation which they used was the Septuagint or other Greek versions of the Old Testament.

I have just said, "the Septuagint or other Greek versions." It is useful to know that, while the Septuagint was the ordinary Greek version of the Old Testament, it did not remain the only one. Some of the Septuagint was very poor Greek, either from the point of view of literature or from that of adequate translation of the Hebrew thought, or from both these considerations. Also, after the early Christians came to employ the Septuagint and appeal to it, Greek-speaking Jews who abhorred Christianity found occasion for making further translations more to their own liking and with literary qualities that they regarded as of a higher order. Thus were made the translations bearing the name of Aquila, Theodotion (both of the second century A.D.),

and Symmachus (of the third), these dates indicating that in the days of Jesus and the apostles only the Septuagint was available for Greek-speaking people who were interested in the books which we call the Old Testament.

It should be mentioned also that some of the books of the Septuagint not in the Hebrew Old Testament, especially some of those which were written in Greek, were composed later than the latest of the Writings. While the dates of these various books are quite uncertain, some of them, for example the Wisdom of Solomon and IV Maccabees, may have been written as late as about the time of the birth of Jesus, or even later. This is a further indication that the Septuagint was a slowly developed collection and may have been still flexible in its contents at the dawning of Christianity.

Thus we see the contents of what we call the Old Testament at the period when Jesus carried on his ministry and when the books of the New Testament were beginning to be written. Among the Jews in Palestine the Old Testament consisted of the Law, the Prophets, the Psalms, the Book of Daniel, and some use of the remaining books of the Writings. This was the practical situation at least, whether the Jewish leaders had definitely come to such a conclusion or not.

Among the Jews outside of Palestine there was no such definiteness of scripture content, and ordinarily a larger number of books was accepted. The Law, the Prophets, and the Writings had been translated into Greek. The process of translation had begun some 300 years before and had been continued as occasion arose, until all the books were included. The later

books, particularly the Book of Daniel, had not been given a Greek version until well along in the second century B.C., and perhaps not until the first. All these translations, at any rate those outside the Law, were held in a comparatively flexible condition and were regarded as a relatively changeable collection. By the side of these books, or rather mingled with them, were various other writings, some of them originally written in Hebrew and later translated into Greek, and others composed in Greek, to all of which the Greek-speaking Jews gave recognition similar to that which they gave to the books translated from the Hebrew.

CHAPTER X

THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

The story of the growth of the New Testament obviously cannot be told with any detail in a single chapter of a volume like this, or even in a much larger essay. Fortunately there is no occasion to undertake such a story. For those who desire the fuller account there are already numerous books which may be used for the purpose, and the dictionaries of the Bible have abundant material of like sort. The purpose of this chapter is quite different. It endeavors only to sketch the origin and development of the different writings included in the New Testament, to indicate their relation to the books of the Old Testament, and, in doing both of these things, to pave the way for understanding how the versions of the entire Bible came into existence. In a word, the purpose here is to show the relation of the New Testament to the growth of the Bible as a whole.

While the story of the gospel and of Christianity began with the work of Jesus, the New Testament as separate books, and especially as a collection of writings, had its origin some years later. It is so because Jesus did not write books, or at least wrote nothing which has been preserved. This does not mean, of course, that Jesus could not write; such passages as John 8:6–8 and Luke 4:16–19 indicate that he wrote when he wished, and that he was accustomed to read the Jewish Scriptures.

He merely chose oral rather than written messages as means of introducing the good news.

The companions of Jesus and his later followers used the written page as deliberately as he had preferred the spoken word. Yet we are not informed as to how early they did this. Some of them may have written out, while he spoke, brief reports of his teaching, but we do not know that they did. It was not strange if they did not, for they already possessed the Jewish Scriptures, to which he constantly appealed as the basis of what he said, and it was natural that they were contented, while he was with them, with the Scriptures already in hand.

When Jesus was taken from them, however, they began to desire written copies of what he had said, both for their own satisfaction and for use in repeating his message to others. The New Testament itself furnishes valuable information concerning this fact. We find it in the first four verses of the Third Gospel. These verses are far too little known and read, and it is worth while to reproduce them here in full.

LUKE 1:1–4

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus; that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou was instructed.

It will be seen that the language is highly suggestive. The marginal rendering of the last four words is even

more informing than the words themselves. The margin reads, "which thou was taught by word of mouth." This undoubtedly brings out the meaning of the Greek. It calls attention to the oral message which was still received by the disciples of Jesus. At the same time it is a reminder of the need of verifying that oral message by the written accounts of Jesus and his work. Of these written accounts the writer of our Third Gospel would make his own account most important, and Theophilus is exhorted to study it carefully.

The language quoted shows that already several narratives concerning the life and work of Jesus had been written. "Several" puts the matter very conservatively, for the Greek, as clearly as the English, reads "many." Interpreting that word in its most conservative sense, however, we cannot make it mean less than "several." Accordingly, at the time in which our Third Gospel was compiled, the author knew of several attempts of a similar sort, several sketches of the life and work of Jesus. What does this mean when taken with the fact that we have only four Gospels?

First, it means, clearly enough, that the "many" did not include our Third Gospel; there were "many" before that was compiled. Secondly, the "many" did not include our Fourth Gospel, for all students of the Gospels are agreed that our Fourth Gospel was written later than the other three. Of the "many" then we have in our New Testament only two at the most; and possibly we have only one, Mark, for it is not at all certain that Matthew is earlier than Luke, or that the writer of Luke was acquainted with Matthew. Altogether, before the writing of our Third Gospel, there had ap-

peared a considerable number of accounts of the ministry of Jesus, all but two of which, and possibly all but one of which, have ceased to exist, at least in the forms in which they were then known; but this reference to them in the Preface to Luke tells us how early the followers of Jesus were eager to possess written stories of his career.

The reader has observed how I have spoken of the Third Gospel as a compilation. There is evidently no occasion to urge that it is such; the writer knew of various previous narratives, was not satisfied with them, and made use of them and of further investigations to produce a better account. The language of the Preface leaves little doubt on that point, and certainty might be secured in other ways, if our purpose led in those directions. For the present it does not, and I call attention to the fact that the Gospel is a compilation only to ask the reader to consider this in connection with what has been found to be the origin and form of growth of the Old Testament writings. Apparently the methods of the earlier days were still employed, and we surely need not be surprised that such was the case.

It is easily seen from all the foregoing that considerable time had elapsed between the death of Jesus and the preparation of our Third Gospel. The fact of the production of several narratives of his life makes that certain, for they would hardly have all appeared at once. The passing of a period of some length is more specifically indicated by one part of the Luke Preface. I refer to the words "as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." Thus the writer of the Gospel tells us

that he was not acquainted with Jesus personally, and that he belonged to the second generation of Christians. We see then that he was writing at the close of one generation at least after the days of Jesus.

No one of the other three Gospels provides such definite information concerning its origin as that which we have found at the beginning of Luke. Still, it would be possible by examination of the language of the others to discover something of the manner of their development. To do so might be attractive, but the purpose of this study is not chiefly an analysis of the scripture material. Our intention is rather to select material which is particularly illustrative of the scripture growth. What we have observed in Luke accomplishes that purpose for the Gospels, and further details may be found in books especially devoted to the presentation of analytical study. Here it is sufficient to indicate the present outcome of gospel study concerning the authorship and dates of the four accounts of Jesus' life and service which have been preserved for us.

Accordingly we have reason for assurance that the second of our Gospels, Mark, was the first of the four to be written. It was probably composed as early as about the year 70. Matthew and Luke followed, perhaps in that order, and may very probably have been written as early as the year 80, possibly earlier. Matthew, like Luke, is a compilation of previous sources rather than the independent work of a single author. These three Gospels together are called the Synoptic Gospels, that is, the Gospels which present a common view of the life of Jesus. Every reader of the New Testament, especially every Sunday-school teacher or

advanced Sunday-school scholar who has attempted careful study of the Gospels and has used one of the so-called harmonies of the Gospels, is already aware how manifest is that common view of Jesus in the first three gospel narratives. That common view itself easily suggests that the three Gospels have some close relationship, either that they arose from the use of common sources, or that the later ones, Matthew and Luke, are both dependent on Mark, their compilers using other sources in addition to our Second Gospel.

The Fourth Gospel is considerably later than Matthew and Luke and, like them, may be the work of more than one writer, having passed through editorial revision, even though most of it came from the apostle John, or from the presbyter of Asia Minor of the same name, both views having earnest advocates. In any case the composition of this Gospel was not much earlier than the year 100 A.D., and it may have been some years later.

The Book of Acts is closely connected with the Third Gospel. A comparison of the Preface of the Gospel with the opening sentence of Acts makes this relation evident. As the author of the Gospel used the work of previous writers as well as the results of his own careful investigation for the first treatise, we may expect that he employed a similar method in the Acts. There is no doubt that the book shows such a method. A simple way in which to be assured of this is to notice that the earlier portions of the book, up to 16:10, are written in the third person, when abruptly the narrative changes to the first person, "We sought to go forth into Macedonia, concluding that God had called us to preach

the gospel unto them"; and later the third person is resumed. The date of composition would naturally be a little later than that of the Third Gospel; how much later we are unable to say.

As a generation or so passed after the death of Jesus before the Gospels and the Book of Acts were written, it is quite possible that some of the New Testament writings were penned earlier than the Gospels. Paul was not only the greatest of the early missionaries, but also the one who left more written accounts of his labors than did any of his fellow-workers. It is appropriate, therefore, to examine his letters in order to discover as well as we can in a brief space how they came to be written, when they were composed, and something of the experiences through which they passed in becoming a large part of the New Testament.

A promising place at which to begin is Paul's statement in I Cor. 5:9–10: "I wrote unto you in my epistle to have no company with fornicators; not at all meaning with the fornicators of this world," etc. We first observe that while this statement is in what we call I Corinthians, Paul refers to a previous letter which he had written to Corinth. Accordingly our I Corinthians must be at least the second of letters that Paul wrote to those Christians.

Paul mentions also one of the important topics which he had discussed in that previous letter, the subject of fornication; not, however, fornication in the physical sense but in the spiritual sense. Now, interestingly enough, there is in our II Corinthians (6:14—7:1) the following passage dealing with precisely the question Paul refers to in I Cor. 5:9–10.

Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers: for what fellowship have righteousness and iniquity? or what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what portion hath a believer with an unbeliever? And what agreement hath a temple of God with idols? for we are a temple of the living God; even as God said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore

Come ye out from among them,
and be ye separate,

saith the Lord,

And touch no unclean thing;
And I will receive you,
And will be to you a Father,
And ye shall be to me sons and daughters,

saith the Lord Almighty. Having therefore these promises, beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all defilement of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.

The reader will observe that in thought and language this passage may very well be the one to which Paul refers in I Cor. 5:9–10.

There is another element in the situation which we need to notice. This is that the preceding passage breaks the connection between II Cor. 6:13 and 7:2. That there may be no uncertainty about this I bring the separated verses together.

II Cor. 6:11–13 Followed by 7:2–3

Our mouth is open unto you, O Corinthians, our heart is enlarged. Ye are not straitened in us, but ye are straitened in your own affections. Now for a recompense in like kind (I speak as unto my children), be ye also enlarged. Open your hearts to us: we wronged no man, we corrupted no man, we took advantage of no man. I say it not to condemn you: for I have said before, that ye are in our hearts to die together and live together.

The reader will probably find it impossible to say where 6:13 ends and 7:2 begins, unless he knows the passage by heart, or opens his Bible to assure himself.

What then is the explanation of the facts before us? Let us see what some of the possibilities are.

We know that it was the custom in those days to copy letters on papyrus leaves. One such leaf would just about have sufficed for the passage in our II Cor. 6:14—7:1. In the hands of a careless copyist such a leaf might easily have slipped out of the letter to which it belonged and then have found place among the leaves containing our II Corinthians. Once in there, the copyist would easily (cf. the statement of Jerome quoted on p. 148) have assumed it to be a part of II Corinthians and copied it as that when the next copy was made, just as though it were a part of the letter with which it chanced to be.

One is more inclined to accept such an explanation of the placing of II Cor. 6:14—7:1 because of other material which a study of II Corinthians offers. This other material is hardly as easy to present as that already introduced, but perhaps it may be sketched sufficiently for its significance to be weighed.

If one reads thoughtfully through all of II Corinthians at a single sitting he can hardly fail to receive two distinct impressions. In the first six or seven chapters he feels that Paul was happy and wrote with confidence and joy. In the reading of chapters 10 to 13 inclusive, however, there is certain to be an equally definite impression that Paul was writing in sadness and pain, with a consciousness that he must assert his apostolic authority, and having in mind an individual offender against

Christian proprieties. And if the reader will now re-read the earlier chapters, particularly 2:1–11, he may naturally feel that these verses refer to the repentance of such an offender and convey the full forgiveness which Paul himself shows and desires that those in Corinth likewise shall display.

In that second chapter the reader will discover also that Paul refers to a letter which he had written with sorrow and pain (vss. 3 and 4). Hear what the apostle says:

> And I wrote this very thing, lest, when I came, I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice; having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all. For out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears; not that ye should be made sorry, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you.

Is this a reference to the manifestly painful portion of our II Corinthians, that is, chapters 10 to 13 inclusive? At the least those chapters present just the sort of material that the reference requires. It is entirely possible then that the last four chapters of II Corinthians are the letter of which Paul speaks in II Cor. 2:3–4. Taking the evidence altogether as it stands, we most naturally conclude that chapters 10 to 13 are part or all of the letter mentioned in II Cor. 2:3–4.

Some inferences are entirely clear. Since Paul in I Cor. 5:9 refers to an earlier letter, he must have written one previous to our I Corinthians, and I Corinthians was at least the second letter he addressed to these Christians. Also, since I Corinthians is evidently not the painful letter mentioned in II Cor. 2:3–4, there must

have been a letter between I Corinthians and the beginning of II Corinthians. Altogether, we are certain that Paul wrote at least four letters to the Corinthian Christians. If he wrote two letters just as the two stand which we have, then two others are entirely lost. This is quite possible. At the same time, in view of the interest which the Corinthians manifestly took to preserve what Paul wrote them—otherwise none of his letters would have come to us—together with what has appeared from our study, it seems more probable that we have in II Cor. 6:14—7:1 a small portion of the letter mentioned in I Cor. 5:9, that our I Corinthians is a second letter, that II Cor. 10:1—13:14 is most of the painful letter mentioned in II Cor. 2:3–4, and so a third letter, and that the first nine chapters of II Corinthians are what remains, if not all, of a fourth letter sent by the apostle to the Christians in Corinth. It should be added that by further analysis of our two letters it is possible to find traces of a fifth letter, and chapter 9, or chapters 8 and 9 together of II Corinthians are sometimes regarded as remains of such a letter.

I have already indicated how a fragment of the first of four letters might very easily have become incorporated in another letter, that which we call II Corinthians. The present arrangement of that letter as composed chiefly of portions of two letters is likewise not at all strange. For obvious reasons the letter of gladness and consolation would be more highly regarded than the painful one. Also the occasion of the painful letter was such that any extended greeting was out of place, an abrupt beginning such as we find at the opening of chapter 10 being what we should expect. Further,

this painful letter was probably comparatively short. Of course there was no particular occasion for those who cherished the letters on account of their contents to be concerned in a chronological arrangement. Accordingly it is not only possible, but perhaps even probable, that in the assembling of letters from Paul the comforting letter should have been given preference over the letter bearing sadness of thought, and that the sad letter, being without any special greeting, should have been attached to it. If the present form of II Corinthians did not need an explanation of its arrangement, we should not think of one. With an explanation as a permanent challenge, and with so easy and natural an explanation at hand in the material itself, we are likely to accept it. In doing so we are only discovering once more how the biblical writings as they have come to us are the outgrowth of processes of compilation.

Close of Romans.

The close of the letter to the Romans, that is, from the concluding verses of chapter 14 on, offers another attractive study in the handling of the Pauline writings. One may see this from merely giving attention to the marginal notes of those chapters in the Revised Version. It is well to examine them in connection with the reading of this discussion. From such an examination it is evident that the ancient manuscripts furnish a variety of endings to the letter. In fact, those early authorities, including the quotations from the letter made by Christian writers of the second century, for example Origen, and his remarks about the ending of the letter, disclose even greater early variations than the marginal notes of the Revised Version indicate.

Variety of endings in ancient mss

With these facts in mind we turn to the letter itself and note how the close of the fifteenth chapter is a benediction and apparently the close of the letter to which it belongs. Also the first verse of chapter 16 reads like the beginning of a letter, as though the writer is introducing Phoebe, the bearer of the letter, to those who are to receive it from her. The passage is worth reproducing here:

ROM. 15:33 FOLLOWED BY 16:1

Now the God of peace be with you all. Amen.

I commend unto you Phoebe our sister, who is a servant of the church that is at Cenchreae:

These sentences side by side in a single letter would be a very unusual arrangement.

The contents of the sixteenth chapter are equally suggestive for our study, particularly verses 3 to 15 inclusive. They should be read through carefully. This reading will show a long list of greetings for Paul's friends who live at the destination of the letter. Unfortunately only two of these friends, Prisca and Aquila, are elsewhere referred to with certainty; the Rufus mentioned (vs. 13) might be the same as the one of Mark 15:21, but if so we should not gain any particular aid. Prisca and Aquila, however, are highly suggestive. Not long before Paul was writing to the Christians at Rome, Aquila and Priscilla (Priscilla is another spelling of Prisca) had been driven from Rome and were in Corinth (Acts 18:1–3); from there they went on to Ephesus (Acts 18:18–19). They remained at Ephesus and had a home there when Paul was writing our I Corinthians (I Cor. 16:19); and at a later period they seem to

have been there still (II Tim. 4:19). The sixteenth chapter of Romans accordingly appears not to be addressed to Christians at Rome but to Christians at Ephesus.

The details of the questions raised must be left to the larger works on the history of the New Testament. It is sufficient here to recognize that the last part of the letter to the Romans, as soon as it is sympathetically examined, discloses, like II Corinthians, a combination of originally separate writings of Paul, the combination having been made by those who were more interested in preserving the helpful messages received from the great apostle than in combining them in such a manner as to show the geographical relations of the different letters.

We may now turn to the letter to the Philippians, particularly the fourth chapter. Especially from the tenth verse on Paul rejoices in the assistance and comfort he had received from his Philippian friends, and he takes occasion to refer to earlier aid of a similar sort (vss. 15–16). He says:

> And ye yourselves also know, ye Philippians, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church had fellowship with me in the matter of giving and receiving but ye only; for even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my need.

Acts 16:11—17:15 should be read in this connection. Whether this is done or not, what did Paul mean by reminding the Philippians not only of giving to meet his needs but also of "receiving" from him? What had they received from him? Evidently not material contribution of money or something else, for they did

not need it, and he was not so situated as to be able to offer it. Had Paul sent them merely an oral message as Epaphroditus (vs. 18), the bearer of their gifts, returned home? That is possible, but, in view of what we know of Paul, is it at all probable? Would he not have been far more likely to send, on each of the two or more occasions mentioned, a letter of gratitude, commendation, and encouragement? There is little doubt that he did so. His language is a delicate way of recalling for them the messages he had sent and very likely the assurances he had received from them in return for the help he had given.

Our letter to the Philippians then indicates that it is all that remains of a somewhat extended correspondence between Paul and the Christians at Philippi; and such a correspondence was perfectly natural. One sees this as soon as he pictures himself back in the situation and thinks of what Paul and his friends would be inclined to do.

It is possible to find in the letters to Timothy and Titus, and to a less extent in some of the other Pauline letters, evidence of compilations and editing, as we have found such evidence in II Corinthians and Romans. The analysis is less manifest, however, at least to the reader of the English versions, and I shall not endeavor to present the material here. We already have before us sufficient to show something of the experiences through which the writings of Paul passed in coming to the forms which we have inherited. Very likely we have the most important of Paul's letters, at least those which to the early Christians were of most interest and value. That we have lost considerable is equally clear, and it is not

at all outside of possibility, or perhaps probability, that the letters which have come to us are merely a fraction, a major fraction at the most, of all that the great apostle either dictated or personally wrote (cf. Gal. 6:11), as he went from place to place, received gifts and messages from his friends, and responded in the generous spirit which his entire career displays.

We are now in a better position to think of the places from which Paul wrote and of the times when his messages were composed. I attempt only to sketch the tendency of opinion to which a study of the material leads. Accordingly Galatians may be the earliest of Paul's letters which we have, and he probably wrote it at Antioch in Syria, perhaps as early as the year 52 or 53. Then follow the two letters to the Thessalonians, sent from Athens or Corinth, perhaps in 54 or 55 (cf. Acts 17:14—18:17). Possibly only a few months or a year later (Acts 19:1—20:2), while Paul was in Ephesus and Macedonia, the letters to the Corinthians were written. Apparently on this journey, which took him to Greece and the city of Corinth (Acts 20:1–3), he wrote to the Romans. Whether the close of the letter as it now stands, especially the sixteenth chapter as greetings to the friends in Ephesus, was composed then we cannot say. Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, the so-called letters from Paul's imprisonment, written from Rome (or, as some think, from Caesarea), may have been sent before the year 60. The letters to Timothy and Titus, the so-called pastoral epistles, are a little later. Their dates depend on whether Paul was released from prison and made another missionary journey, at the close of which he was again in prison

in Rome and wrote the pastorals, or at least wrote the letters from fragments of which the pastorals as we have them were compiled. The entire matter of these dates is quite uncertain, and its consideration includes the question of whether Paul suffered martyrdom as early as the year 60 (or possibly earlier) or not until several years after that.

By comparing these dates for Paul's letters with what has been said above concerning the dates of composition of the Gospels, it will be seen that probably all of Paul's writings were earlier than the earliest of our present Gospels. The apostle may have paid for this fidelity to Jesus with death before even our Gospel of Mark was penned. The Gospels were placed first among the books of the New Testament, of course, both because they describe the work of Jesus, the master of Paul, and because the material they contain deals with the beginning of the gospel story as a whole.

I have said nothing about the letter to the Hebrews as a writing from Paul. Differing about this letter in so many respects, New Testament students are pretty well agreed on one point, namely, that the letter was not written by Paul. As to who did write it there is no generally accepted answer. The names of Mark, Luke, Priscilla, Aquila, Barnabas, Apollos, have all been proposed, but no one knows or is likely to discover with certainty who the author was. The letter was probably written within a few years after Paul's death.

There remain of the books of the New Testament to be considered the so-called general epistles of James,

Peter, John, and Jude, and finally the Apocalypse, or, as the name appears in the ordinary English Bible, the Revelation of John. Each of these books raises questions which students have followed out in detail. It is not needful here either to repeat the essentials of those treatises or to examine at length the language of the writings. The marks of authorship or composition are not so evident as we could wish.

Some items concerning these books, however, are especially worthy of mention and must claim attention for a moment. While James has often been regarded as one of the earliest, perhaps the earliest, of the New Testament writings, composed as early as the year 50, the letter seems to bear marks of much later authorship and may belong among the later writings. The letters bearing the name of Peter, particularly the second of the two, likewise offer material which suggests later composition. The authorship and date of the letters bearing the name of John are manifestly connected with the question of the authorship and date of the Fourth Gospel, which the letters so much resemble in style and thought. The Epistle of Jude attracts notice out of proportion to its extent or its teaching because the author quotes (vss. 14–15) from the apocalyptic Book of Enoch and otherwise shows familiarity with that apocalyptic writing. And finally the Book of Revelation, which calls itself the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ, and (as mentioned on p. 94) belongs to the apocalyptic type of literature, cannot be rightly understood unless it is studied as a writing of that class of composition. When it is so studied the question of authorship loses its importance, other than as a matter of historical

investigation, and the date is to be gathered from the latest historical events presented with some definiteness, though symbolically, in the book itself. Unfortunately the events mentioned in the book are more veiled than those in the Book of Daniel, and the time of writing is not at all easy to discover. Among the most careful students of the book, therefore, opinions vary between about the year 70 and a generation or so later, that is, as late as the year 100. Wrapped up with this difference of opinion as to date is the question whether the Apocalypse is an independent work of one writer or a compilation of different apocalyptic sources, all reworked into the marvelous general unity which anyone feels who reads the book at a single sitting.

Altogether, then, the order of composition of the books of the New Testament is, first, the writings of Paul; second, the Gospels, Acts, the letter to the Hebrews, and possibly the Apocalypse, the individual order of writing of these books being quite uncertain; third, the general epistles and the Fourth Gospel, and, more probably here than earlier, the Apocalypse, the individual order in this third group also being not at all certain. The general period of composition of the New Testament writings is between about the year 50 and the year 100, or a little later.

In the New Testament there is nothing to show when the letters of Paul were collected, or when the Gospels were brought into their present arrangement, or how either of these collections came to be made; and naturally the New Testament gives no clue to the time and the circumstances in which its various parts were assembled into the complete collection we now possess. If later

we discover information by means of which we can determine at least the time when the collection was complete, that is as much as we can expect. Those who collected the New Testament were not concerned to leave a record of what they did; their interest was in the writings themselves.

CHAPTER XI

THE BIBLE TRANSLATED INTO LATIN

We have now retraced the growth of the Bible up to the first century of the Christian Era, the New Testament to about the close of that century. What we have found shows that the Bible at that time consisted of three elements: first, the Hebrew Old Testament, used chiefly by the Palestinian Jews; second, the Greek Old Testament, considerably larger in extent, used by Greek-speaking Jews and Christians; and, third, the New Testament, just arising from the early Christian movement and beginning to be used by Jesus' followers. The Law and the Prophets of the Hebrew Old Testament were a definite and fixed collection; the Hebrew Writings, as far as we have yet discovered, were still a flexible group of books and apparently indefinite in number. The Law of the Greek Old Testament was probably as definite as the Law of the Hebrew; the remainder of the Greek Old Testament was semifluid in its contents and was treated with much freedom by many, if not by all, of those who used it. The New Testament was just forming, in ways similar to those which had brought about the formation of the Old Testament, and inevitably was still without fixed content or arrangement.

While such was the situation for the first Christian century as a whole, the statement may easily mislead unless one or two points are considered further, particularly as to the Hebrew Old Testament. This, at the

close of the century, had probably become quite definite in the case of the Writings as well as in the case of the Law and the Prophets. The evidence for this is not to be found in the Writings themselves; we should not expect this. It is not to be found in the Greek Old Testament; this would be as little expected. It is not to be found in the New Testament; the writers of the New Testament were concerned with other matters. It is to be found, first of all, in the existence of the Writings as a closed collection early in the Christian Era, and in information which comes to us from Jewish writings outside the Bible confirming the closing of the third division of the Israelitish Scriptures about the year 90 A.D. It was then, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the year 70 and the scattering of the Jewish scribes from that ancient center of Israelitish learning, that a school, or headquarters, of Jewish scholars arose at Jamnia, northwest of Jerusalem, entered into extended discussion as to which should be accepted for their sacred books, and seems to have arrived at considerable unanimity of opinion on the books approved. Those accepted were not essentially different from the present Law, Prophets, and Writings, that is, the scribes adopted the Writings and added them to the two earlier collections.

This was a very natural step at the time. The Israelites had ceased to be a nation in anything more than name. Their racial ambitions and strivings, however, especially their supreme functions, religious insight, and action, could not be stopped. Rather the terrible experiences through which they were passing were a stimulus. Moreover, the rise of Christianity out of Judaism

and as a protest against it was an incentive for loyal Jewish scholars to let the world know what they accepted of the so-called Israelitish Scriptures and what they rejected. The age-long struggle between Jew and Christian had begun, and it would have been strange if Israel had not made for itself a peculiar book just as it became, in a pre-eminent sense, a peculiar people.

This action of the Jewish leaders, adopting some books as sacred and rejecting others, was of little import for the Christians. For them, at that period, the Scriptures consisted, first of all, of the Greek Old Testament, which was still a flexible collection. With these books they were coming to esteem various Christian letters, gospels, and other writings, all composed in Greek. These were not at all fixed in number; they were the extensive works out of which our New Testament later arose, and their limits were quite flexible. These facts are important to keep in mind. Our thought of Paul's letters, for example, is probably quite different from the thought of many of those who had known directly of his labors and his writings. For some of them portions of his letters which have been lost may have been as precious as those which we possess; and some of the lost gospels to which the Preface of Luke refers, or possibly others of which we do not know at all, may have seemed indispensable not only for those who wrote them but for many others of the early disciples. In short, Christianity possessed a manifold collection of Christian writings, but there was as yet no definite New Testament.

At this point one aspect of the relation between the New Testament writings and the books of the Old Testament should be recalled. The earliest Christians

came from among the Jews and did not lose their devotion to the Jewish Scriptures when they became Christians. Some of the most influential missionaries to the Gentiles, like Paul, carried that devotion to the Jewish Scriptures over to the Gentiles, and the gentile converts became imbued with a similar love for the Israelitish writings. When those Jewish missionaries and their converts among non-Jews wrote of the life of Jesus or of their own experience and the lessons they had learned it was as natural as the sunlight for them to employ the thought and language of the Old Testament. As a result the writings of the New Testament are rich in quotations from the books of the Old (cf. p. 9), and, as must be expected, those quotations are chiefly from the Old Testament in Greek. There are Hebrew words carried over, but the way in which they are used—often translated by the writers—makes clear that the Hebrew was an alien tongue, and that quotations from the Greek version of the recognized Scriptures was the matter-of-fact course for an author to pursue. In this respect, then, as well as in those previously considered, the writings of the New Testament were far more closely related to the Old Testament in Greek than to the Old Testament in Hebrew.

While what has been said thus far in this chapter might appear quite remote from the translation of the Bible into Latin, precisely the opposite is actually the case. There can be no intelligent understanding of the Bible in Latin without a reasonably clear view of the character and extent of the Bible as it was employed for translating into the Latin tongue; and it is impossible to have in mind that Bible without being sure of the Bible

of the early Christians, the books which they accepted as their Scriptures. These are now before us with as much definiteness as the Scriptures had at the close of the apostolic days. The Bible of the early Christians was primarily the Old Testament in Greek, the writings of the Christians themselves not yet having reached the esteem in which the Old Testament was held.

One may ask why a Latin translation of the Bible was made; what occasion there was that the Bible in Greek should receive a Latin dress. The general reply is this: A considerable portion of Christianity became Latin-speaking, and there had to be a Latin translation of the entire Bible for the same reason that, some generations earlier, the Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt required a Greek translation of the Hebrew Old Testament. It is really more correct to say that early Christianity was accepted by people who were Latin-speaking, and that the Bible of necessity was carried over into the language which these Christians used.

It is worth while to review the situation somewhat more in detail. For doing this the reader may recall at once what the Fourth Gospel states (19:19, 20) concerning the inscription which was placed on the cross of Jesus, that it was written "in Hebrew, and in Latin, and in Greek." Even in Palestine then the languages of the people, either those who lived there or visitors, required that a public notice appear in three versions, Latin apparently having the second degree of importance.

In other portions of the Roman Empire, of which Palestine was no more than a third-rate province, Greek was the chief means of communication; this was the situation in Greece and Macedonia of course, though

other languages were used by many of the people, and many were familiar with two or three. Even in the city of Rome itself Greek was the tongue ordinarily used. This is clear from the fact that when Paul wrote to the Roman Christians he employed the Greek and leaves no hint in what he said that any of those addressed would find the form of speech strange to their ears. Greek was the familiar language in the capital of the Latin Empire, and this should be kept in mind as we proceed with the topic before us. We should remember indeed that Paul wrote in Greek all his letters of which we know. In short, Greek was the familiar language of ordinary life throughout the Roman world.

It was not, however, by any means the only language in general use. With it everywhere, at least where Roman law and administration had occasion to go, went the Latin. So it was in Palestine, as noted above; so it was in the other provinces and divisions of the empire. In some of them indeed Latin was the language of the people. This was particularly the case in the portions of Northern Africa where Rome had gained control. In the two or three centuries before the time of Jesus, Rome had so thoroughly imposed on these peoples the language and customs of the capital city that the people of Northern Africa remained more truly Latin than the inhabitants of the city of Rome itself. While the city had adopted largely the language of conquered Greece, the people across the Mediterranean retained the Latin tongue which their fathers had accepted whether they wished or not.

In the Roman world then, the world which was still inherently the Latin Empire, there was ample occasion

for having the Scriptures in a Latin form. Christianity could not pass freely among all the people of the Roman realm before it had been transmitted into Latin speech.

Yet, strange as it may seem, we do not know where first Christianity was received by those who spoke Latin, nor where first the Scriptures were Latinized. We do not even have the earliest Latin Bible, except as we gather it by combining fragments of early manuscripts and the many quotations used by the early Christian Latin authors and thus arrive at some idea of what the entire translation was. And this leads to the interesting conclusion that there may have been several, perhaps even a considerable number, of more or less independent versions, each probably covering only portions of the Bible, though some may have included most, if not all. At any rate, however it came about, the fragments themselves of those early Latin scriptures differ widely in their renderings of the Bible language, and this would hardly be the case if there had been a single version recognized for those who used the Latin speech.

Of course we should not be surprised that the Bible in Latin did not appear from the beginning in a single recognized translation. The very opposite, in fact, is what we might expect. Latin-speaking converts in Syria or in Northern Africa would not wait for an authorized version; someone among them, or the missionary who had led them to accept Jesus, who understood both Greek and Latin would naturally meet the immediate need by translating important parts of the Scriptures into Latin, which the converts could read, just as modern missionaries, for the converts in Asia, Africa, and the islands of the seas, have translated the Bible into the

tongues of the people with whom they worked. And thus in the course of time the Bible as a whole was carried over into the Latin speech and became available for those who were limited to the use of that language.

How early this occurred we can infer only in a general way from the use of these varied versions by the early Christians who wrote in Latin and whose writings have been preserved. Among these we have pre-eminently Tertullian, who wrote between the years 200 and 240, and Cyprian, who died as a martyr in 258. Both of these men, particularly Cyprian, were connected with the Christian movement in Northern Africa; both of them quoted from Latin Scriptures as though the Latin were well known and widely accepted; and yet both give evidence of large variations in the versions which they employed.

This is important for itself and also for other reasons. It shows that the earliest Latin Bible of which we know was the outcome of work among the people of Northern Africa; and this may probably indicate that the version, or versions, were made in connection with the early missionary efforts throughout that Latin-speaking province of the empire. If Latin translations were made in other parts of the Roman world, they merely help to account for the existence of so many Latin translations in the third century that these may be thought of as almost a confusion of versions; and it is worthy of note that the masses of the people, who were the chief users of these versions, seem not to have been troubled by the variations among them.

Such was the general situation in the third century, and such it continued to be through the fourth, not only

in Northern Africa, but in other Latin-speaking parts where Christianity had gained acceptance, including the rural sections of Italy, especially those remote from the city of Rome.

In the meantime the fashion in language was altering in the capital of the empire, Rome was dropping the use of Greek and returning to the Latin of former days, and this change produced a demand for a corresponding change in the accepted text of the Scriptures. There were the Latin versions which we have been considering ready for use, to be sure; but they did not satisfy the literary tastes of the capital élite. They were unsatisfactory, not only because of their variations and uncertainty, but also because they offended imperial culture. Something better must be obtained.

Such are the conditions out of which, just before and following the year 400, arose the Editio Vulgata, the common version of the Latin Christian world, the Vulgate. And we must consider briefly some of the incidents connected with its origin.

Chief among these incidents were two men. One of these was the Roman bishop, or pope, from 366 to 384, whose name was Damasus. He was himself concerned for literature and wrote in both prose and poetry. The demand for a more literary version of the Bible easily appealed to him. The other man was Jerome, or, as his name is more fully written, Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus. He was born of wealthy parents at Stridon in what is now the southern part of Austria-Hungary. His birth brought opportunity for education, travel, and culture. He was trained in all the arts of Latin and Greek literature, and he gave himself to the earnest

study of Hebrew. Correspondence and friendship between him and Damasus opened the way for Damasus to ask the accomplished scholar and—for such he had become—the devoted Christian to prepare the desired revision of the Latin Scriptures. This request was probably made not far from the beginning of the year 382, when Jerome went to Rome and entered into that close companionship with Damasus which was broken only by the latter's death toward the close of 384.

It was the thought of Damasus and the plan of Jerome merely to revise the current Latin versions into a single better version, making corrections from the text of the Septuagint for the Old Testament and from the best Greek texts of the books of the New Testament. There was no thought then of bringing the old Testament into accord with its Hebrew original.

The first portion of the Bible revised, as has often been the case in modern missionary enterprise, was the Gospels and the Psalms, the revision of the former appearing in the year 383. The situation and the task are best seen from parts of the Preface which Jerome wrote for the Gospels and addressed to Damasus.[1]

Jerome said:

> You urge me to revise the old Latin version, and, as it were, to sit in judgment on the copies of the Scriptures which are now scattered throughout the world; and, inasmuch as they differ from one another, you would have me decide which of them agree with the Greek original. The labor is one of love, but at the same time both perilous and presumptuous; for in judging others I must be

[1] I quote here, and also further selections later, from the language of Jerome according to the *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (Second Series, edited by Drs. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace), VI, 487 ff.

content to be judged by all; and how can I dare to change the language of the world in its hoary old age, and carry it back to the early days of its infancy? Is there a man, learned or unlearned, who, when he takes the volume into his hands, and perceives that what he reads does not suit his settled tastes, will not break out immediately into violent language, and call me a forger and a profane person for having the audacity to add anything to the ancient books, or to make any changes or corrections therein? Now there are two consoling reflections which enable me to bear the odium—in the first place, the command is given by you who are the supreme bishop; and secondly, even on the showing of those who revile us, readings at variance with the early copies cannot be right. For if we are to pin our faith to the Latin texts, it is for our opponents to tell us *which;* for there are almost as many forms of the text as there are copies. If, on the other hand, we are to glean the truth from a comparison of *many*, why not go back to the original Greek and correct the mistakes introduced by inaccurate translators, and the blundering alterations of confident but ignorant critics, and, further, all that has been inserted or changed by copyists more asleep than awake? (cf. p. 126).

No comment is needed to make clear how the mere announcement of a revision of the current translations, together with the appearance of advance portions, as Jerome's language suggests, was sufficient to arouse bitter criticism. Those of our day who recall the opposition stirred up by the appearance of the Revised Version in 1881 will readily note the parallel and will better understand the odium which Jerome had to face.

The death of Damasus in 384 produced a great change in the plans which he and Jerome had in mind. The new bishop, Siricius, in his attitude toward Jerome and his work, was the opposite of all that Damasus had been. Naturally Jerome left the city. He decided to return to Palestine, where he had passed portions of his earlier life. With friends he made the journey by way

of Greece and Egypt, finally settling at Bethlehem, in 386, where he lived until his death, probably in 420, being the leader of a monastic community throughout the long period of thirty-four years.

This turn of affairs did not stop his work of Bible revision, though it temporarily interfered with it. If the Roman bishop did not care for his improvement of the Scripture translations, there were friends who did. He responded to their requests. In doing this for the books of the Old Testament he gave up a mere bettering of the old Latin by comparison with the Septuagint. He went directly to the Hebrew for the books in that language and made translations which fidelity to the Hebrew required. There was apparently no thought in his mind that he was preparing a translation of the Bible which would be widely used and remain for generations the accepted form of Scripture thought. He was only transferring faithfully into Latin, the best Latin his extended culture could command, that Hebrew thought which his friends could not read in its original form. See how he put it, as we find his language in the Preface to the Books of Samuel and Kings, as he was sending the translation to his friends Paula and Eustochium:

> First read, then, my Samuel and Kings; mine, I say, mine. For whatever by diligent translation and by anxious emendation we have learnt and made our own, is ours. And when you understand that whereof you were before ignorant, either, if you are grateful, reckon me a translator, or, if ungrateful, a paraphraser, albeit I am not in the least conscious of having deviated from the Hebrew original.

Thus faithful was he to the original language of the Old Testament, which few of the Christians of his day

could use with assurance, or could translate into the best Latin of the time. In the Preface to his version of the Book of Job he recurs to the subject and adds important data concerning the service his rendering furnished. Here is part of what he said in forwarding his translation of the book to unnamed friends:

> Previous to the publication of our recent translation . . . . about seven or eight hundred lines were missing in the Latin, so that the book, mutilated, torn, and disintegrated, exhibits its deformity to those who publicly read it. The present translation follows no ancient translator, but will be found to reproduce now the exact words, now the meaning, now both together of the original Hebrew, Arabic, and occasionally the Syriac.

In such language he did not mean to say, of course, that any of the Book of Job was written in Arabic or Syriac. He was merely reminding his friends, who understood his familiarity with those languages, kindred of the Hebrew, how he had made that familiarity contribute to an understanding of the Hebrew and so to the value of the version he had prepared.

Thus it was that a new Latin version of the Scriptures came into existence. Further details concerning other portions of the Bible would be largely repetitions in substance of what we have discovered already. The new version was a labor of love, given by the foremost scholar of the age, with heroic fidelity to the original Scripture languages and absolute devotion to the personal friends for whom the translations were framed. The work occupied much of his time for more than twenty years, from 383 to 404. The result, not in his day, but as a later combination of his various labors, was the Vulgate.

Before we proceed farther it is important to bear in mind the extent of the early Latin Bible which Jerome used as the basis for the version which he produced. To do this we must consider both the Old Testament and the New, and in the case of the New Testament it is necessary to discover what had occurred between about the year 100, when there was still merely a large number of independent Christian writings, and the year 400, when our present New Testament seems to have become a definite collection.

As far as the Old Testament is concerned little need be said. We have already seen that the Old Testament of the early Christians was the Greek rather than the Hebrew. That means at once the recognition of the larger contents of the Septuagint as the writings which had been carried over into the early Latin Old Testament. While the fragmentary condition of the early Latin manuscripts leaves the matter of details in doubt, there is no question as to the general extent of the books which the Latin-speaking Christians accepted. It was substantially the same as the Greek Old Testament which we found in chapter ix. If it retained something of the flexibility of limits which was characteristic of the Septuagint, we need not be surprised.

A discussion of the course of events which led to the adoption of our present New Testament before the time of Jerome, if the discussion were with any degree of fulness, would involve the writing of a book rather than a portion of a chapter. Such books have already been written. The need here then is sufficiently met if we recognize the facts, leaving the details to be considered in the books devoted to that subject. The main facts

then, as they are available from the early Christian records, are substantially as follows:

Ignatius of Antioch in Syria, who wrote some letters on the way to martyrdom, which was not later than the year 117, used language which indicates familiarity with considerable portions of the New Testament but furnishes no information as to whether the New Testament books had yet become a single collection. Probably the evidence from him is against such a collection, for in one of his letters (to the Smyrnaeans) he refers to gospel language which does not agree with anything in any of our four Gospels and seems therefore to have been taken from a writing of which we do not otherwise know. Ignatius would hardly have used such material if he had come to understand that only the four Gospels which we have were recognized sources of the life of Jesus.

Justin Martyr, who wrote some fifty years later, likewise provides suggestions concerning the Christian writings then in use and the manner in which they were employed. He ordinarily referred to the Gospels as the "memoirs" of Jesus, and he quoted their language with much freedom, paraphrasing some passages and combining others; but this need not surprise us, for he appropriated the language of the Old Testament in much the same way. He knew the letters of Paul and did not hesitate to adapt the language as he did the other writings. Altogether, as to a fixed collection of New Testament books, he gives us no guide.

Concerning the situation about a generation later, that is, in the last quarter of the second century, we have more definite material. This material is the so-called

Muratorian fragment, which contains a list of New Testament books with comments upon their use and the estimate in which they were held. This valuable document was discovered in the Ambrosian Library at Milan by the Italian scholar Muratori, whose name it bears, and was published by him in 1740. The manuscript is thought to have been made in the eighth, or possibly the seventh, century, but it is a copy from much earlier times, and the work is believed to have been written as early as the year 200, or even a few years previous to that date. The fragment begins with part of a sentence, which evidently describes the Gospel of Mark, since the sentences following deal with Luke and John. There is no doubt accordingly that it contained a statement concerning Matthew; and preceding pages may have contained a list of Old Testament books. It is important for us because of its list of the books relating to Jesus and the apostles. Indeed we ought to consider not only the list of the books but the comments of the writer concerning them, and this leads to a quotation of the entire fragment as far as it deals with the Christian writings.[1] The fragment reads:

with whom, however, he was associated and so was qualified to speak.

The third book of the gospel, that according to Luke, Luke the well-known physician, after the ascension of Christ, composed in his own name as he had received the material, having been

[1] I translate from the Latin text as emended by the late Professor Brooke Foss Westcott and printed in his *General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament*, 6th ed., pp. 534–38. The reader should remember that parts of the Latin are hopelessly corrupt and the language quite uncertain, but that this does not affect the meaning of the document as a whole.

aided by companionship with Paul. Though he had not seen the Lord in the flesh, yet he was fitted to undertake the work, and so he began his narrative from the birth of John the Baptist.

John

The fourth of the gospels was written by John, one of the disciples. As he and the other disciples and bishops were together, he said to them: "Fast with me for three days from today, and then let us tell each other what has been revealed to us." That night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John should write everything in his own name, all the others approving. . . . . Why need we wonder, then, that John, repeatedly even in his letters, introduced the matter by saying: "What we have seen with our eyes, and heard with our ears, and our hands have fondled, we have written"? [Cf. I John 1:1.] Accordingly, he presented himself not only as one who had seen but as one who had heard and one who had written in order all the marvelous things of the Lord.

Acts

The acts of all the apostles are written in one book. Luke compiled it for the noble Theophilus, Luke himself having been present when the incidents occurred, as he shows by omitting the martyrdom of Peter and the departure of Paul as he was on his way from our city of Rome to Spain.

Corinthians
Galatians
Romans

The letters of Paul themselves show, for those who desire to understand, what they are, where, and for what purpose they were sent. First of all, one to the Corinthians forbidding divisions in the church. Then to the Galatians on circumcision. Next he wrote to the Romans with more detail an exposition of the Scriptures, arguing profoundly that Christ is the source of the Scriptures. These letters it is needful for us to discuss individually, since the blessed apostle Paul himself, following the example of his predecessor John, wrote to only seven churches by name, as follows: to the Corinthians first, Ephesians second, Philippians third, Colossians fourth, Galatians fifth, Thessalonians sixth, Romans seventh; to the Corinthians and Thessalonians, rightly, a second time for their correction. Only one church, however, is to be recognized, though it is scattered over all the earth. And John likewise had the privilege of writing to seven churches, yet he spoke to all. Fortunately, Paul wrote one letter to Philemon, one to Titus, and two to Timothy as a token of love and distinc-

Ephesians
Philippians
Colossians
Thessalonians

Philemon
Titus
2 Timothy

tion. These are held in honor by the universal church, however, for the regulation of church discipline. There is current also a letter to the Laodiceans and another to the Alexandrians, both falsely attributed to Paul and dealing with the heresy of Marcion; and there are various other letters which cannot be accepted by the church universal; for gall will not properly mix with honey. The letter of Jude, however, and two bearing the name of John are retained among general letters. Also, the Wisdom of Solomon written by his friends in his honor.

The apocalypses of John and Peter we are disposed to accept, though some among us are unwilling for these to be read in the church service. The Shepherd, indeed, was written very recently, in our own time, at the city of Rome, by Hermas, while his brother Pius was in the bishop's chair [date uncertain, perhaps about 140-55] in the city of Rome. And some think it worthy to be read, but not to be published for the use of the people in the church service, nor to have recognition with the prophets completing their number, nor among the apostles till the end of time.

The letters of Arsinous, or Valentinus, or Metiades, however, we do not think of accepting. Who they were who wrote the new book of psalms of Marcion, with those of Basilides, founder of the Asiatic Cataphrygians . . . .

Thus the fragment breaks off, leaving us in even greater uncertainty than the translation suggests, and more in doubt as to the meaning here than as to the meaning of the opening phrase of the fragment. Nevertheless the general import of the narrative is sufficiently definite. It is an estimate, probably before the year 200, of the writings which properly belonged in the collection of Christian Scriptures. Apparently it was more than the estimate of an individual. Its reference to the city of Rome indicates that it originated there. Very likely it represents the Roman view of its time. That it was regarded as valuable and copied for preservation

through five or six centuries points to the same conclusion.

The reader should study the fragment with care, permitting each statement to leave its own proper impression concerning the status of Christian writings in that early period from which the fragment comes. Among the quite unexpected impressions will be the omission of the letter to the Hebrews, the reference to a letter to the Laodiceans, and one to the Alexandrians, the inclusion of the Wisdom of Solomon among the Christian writings rather than among the Jewish, the mention of the Shepherd of Hermas, and the association of an apocalypse of Peter with that of John. In short, about one hundred years after the close of the apostolic period there was still considerable flexibility in the list of books which later became fixed as the New Testament; and, for our particular study in the present chapter, it was in the midst of such indefiniteness concerning Christian Scriptures that the Latin translation of the New Testament had its beginning.

Indeed this indefiniteness continued to a considerably later day. We know this from the language of Eusebius, the father of church history, who wrote at the beginning of the fourth century, or rather as far along in the century as about the year 325. His language is as follows:

> Since we are dealing with this subject [the question of the New Testament], it is proper to sum up the writings of the New Testament which have been already mentioned. First then must be put the holy quaternion of the Gospels; following them the Acts of the Apostles. After this must be reckoned the Epistles of Paul; next in order the extant former Epistle of John, and likewise the Epistle of Peter, must be maintained. After them is to be placed, if it really seems proper, the Apocalypse of John, concern-

ing which we shall give the different opinions at the proper time. These then belong among the accepted writings. Among the disputed writings, which are nevertheless recognized by many, are extant the so-called Epistle of James and that of Jude, also the second Epistle of Peter, and those that are called the second and third of John, whether they belong to the evangelist or to another person of the same name. Among the rejected writings must be reckoned also the Acts of Paul, and the so-called Shepherd, and the Apocalypse of Peter, and in addition to these the extant Epistle of Barnabas, and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles; and besides, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if it seem proper, which some, as I said, reject, but which others class with the accepted books. And among these some have placed also the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews that have accepted Christ are especially delighted. And all these may be reckoned among the disputed books. But we have nevertheless felt compelled to give a catalogue of those also, distinguishing these works which according to ecclesiastical tradition are true and genuine and commonly accepted, from those others which, although not canonical but disputed, are yet at the same time known to ecclesiastical writers—we have felt compelled to give this catalogue in order that we might be able to know both these works and those which are cited by the heretics under the name of the apostles, including, for instance, such books as the Gospels of Peter, of Thomas, of Matthias, or of any others besides them, and the Acts of Andrew and John and the other apostles, which no one belonging to the succession of ecclesiastical writers has deemed worthy of mention in his writings. And further, the character of the style is at variance with apostolic usage, and both the thoughts and the purpose of the things that are related in them are so completely out of accord with true orthodoxy that they clearly show themselves to be the fictions of heretics. Wherefore they are not to be placed even among the rejected writings, but are all of them to be cast aside as absurd and impious.[1]

[1] The translation is that of the *Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Second Series, I, 155–57, i.e., Book III, chap. xxv, of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*.

Such was the estimate of a remarkably well-informed man in the first half of the fourth century. While he permits his own opinion to appear, he is careful to outline the general sentiment of the different classes of thought among the Christians of his time. What he says should be carefully observed if one desires to understand the status of the various Christian writings and to have a picture of the list which composed the accepted New Testament in Eusebius' day. Two impressions at least will be received. It will be felt that when two centuries and more had been added to the apostolic period there was still little unanimity as to what should be accepted as properly belonging to the New Testament. Eusebius admits this even for those to whom he did not apply the name heretic. Christians in good standing differed as to what should be included in their sacred writings. The matter does not stop there, however. Some of those whom the historian stigmatized as heretics may have been as sincere as he and his recognized Christian brothers, and some of the writings which he and others repudiated may have possessed a measure of value, if not as Christian teachings, yet as reflection of the thought of those who composed them and those who found pleasure in their perusal. We should be interested to possess them, at any rate, and they may have been lost to the history of Christianity because they were put under the ban of the ecclesiastical historian.

The most important thing, however, to be noted from the quotation is the revelation of the method by which a book was accepted, or put among those which were banned, or left, for the time being, in a state of uncertainty. The deciding factor was the estimate of the

Christians themselves. In the case of books concerning which all agreed at the beginning of the fourth century the matter was ended and these books were sacred. Books which all, at least all who were of the mind of Eusebius, rejected were thereby discarded. Where unanimity of opinion could not be reached, there each Christian accepted what appealed to him and passed other writings by. Thus, only some sixty years before Jerome began a revision of the Latin Bible, the New Testament portion was still without definite and final limits. How this affected the problems which Jerome undertook must be considered as we proceed.

In this consideration we may be almost surprised to find that for Jerome the problem of accepted books was not so much one concerning the New Testament as one concerning the Old. Indeed, though he had removed from Rome largely because of opposition, and though he was in controversy much of the remainder of his life with Augustine, the supreme leader in Northern Africa and in Italy, his idea of the New Testament books did not differ widely from that held by Augustine. It is best, therefore, to review the situation for the two Testaments together and to begin with Jerome's idea of the Old.

In some respects the Book of Daniel stimulated greater difference of opinion than any other, since in the Septuagint it is so different from the Hebrew. Jerome felt this, and in his Preface to his translation from the Hebrew, written to his friends Paula and Eustochium, he outlined the problem and the manner in which he was inclined to dispose of it. After speaking of the difficulties which the translator of the book, written partly in Hebrew and partly in Chaldee (Aramaic, as we now call

it), must face, and of the persistent labor which he had given to the task, he continued:

> I say this to show you how hard it is to master the book of Daniel, which in Hebrew contains neither the history of Susanna, nor the hymn of the three youths, nor the fables of Bel and the Dragon; because, however, they are to be found everywhere, we have formed them into an appendix, prefixing to them an obelus (†), and thus making an end of them, so as not to seem to the uninformed to have cut off a large portion of the volume.

The language leaves no doubt as to the personal inclination of Jerome. He preferred to limit the Book of Daniel to those portions which were in Hebrew and Aramaic. Those parts of the book which existed only in Greek he consented to retain as an appendix out of consideration for those who insisted on keeping the book in its Septuagint form and extent.

Other quotations from his language would point in the same direction. He consented, for example, to revise the Latin of the Books of Tobit and Judith in accord with the Septuagint text, but he did this only out of deference to friends who desired these books in the purified Latin which they could gain from him as from no one else. In a word, if Jerome could have had his way, the revised Latin Old Testament which came into existence from his labors would have contained only the Hebrew Law, Prophets, and Writings carried over into the best Latin which his genius could command; the portions of the Old Testament in Greek not found in the Hebrew he would have omitted from the sacred collection of Christian Scriptures.

At the same time he was not concerned for the Hebrew order of the books. This appears from a long letter

which he wrote to Paulinus as early as the year 394, in which he described the value of Scripture study and outlined the books of the Bible. This outline is important in that it shows, not only the books of the Old Testament which Jerome thought of as belonging properly to the collection, but also the order of their arrangement as they stood in his mind. Here are the books in the order in which he describes them:[1]

Genesis	Hosea	Jeremiah
Exodus	Joel	Lamentations
Leviticus	Amos	Ezekiel
Numbers	Obadiah	Daniel
Deuteronomy	Jonah	Psalms
Job	Micah	Proverbs
Joshua	Nahum	Ecclesiastes
Judges	Habakkuk	Song of Songs
Ruth	Zephaniah	Esther
I Samuel	Haggai	I Chronicles
II Samuel	Zechariah	II Chronicles
I Kings	Malachi	Ezra
II Kings	Isaiah	Nehemiah

He had become interested in the various books themselves as he found them in the Hebrew manuscripts, not in the order in which the Israelites held them as the Law, Prophets, and Writings. Accordingly, while he had adopted the Israelitish view of the proper contents of the Old Testament, he retained the idea of free arrangement that he had inherited from early reading of the Septuagint.

Following the foregoing, in the same letter, he sketches more briefly his thought of the New Testament.

[1] *Select Library*, VI, 99–101.

A quotation of portions of his language will best show his feeling:

> The New Testament I will briefly deal with. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John are the Lord's team of four. . . . . The apostle Paul writes to seven churches (for the eighth epistle—that to the Hebrews—is not generally counted with the others). He instructs Timothy and Titus; he intercedes with Philemon for his runaway slave. Of him I think it better to say nothing than to write inadequately. The Acts of the Apostles seem to relate a mere unvarnished narrative descriptive of the infancy of the newly born church; but when once we realize that their author is Luke the physician whose praise is in the gospel, we shall see that all his words are medicine for the sick soul. The apostles James, Peter, John, and Jude, have published seven epistles at once spiritual and to the point. . . . . The apocalypse of John has as many mysteries as words. In saying this I have said less than the book deserves.

The statement shows that, for Jerome, the New Testament consisted of the same twenty-seven books that are found in the New Testament today. The order of arrangement is somewhat different, and Jerome recognized that even in his day Paul was not everywhere regarded as the author of the letter to the Hebrews. Otherwise the thought of Jerome is the list familiar to Christians of the present time.

There were, however, other counsels among the Christians of that age, and other counsels were those that prevailed. Scholarly, cultured, literary, brilliant, and consecrated as Jerome was, he was in Palestine, and Palestine was not the portion of the Roman world in which Christianity was most potent. In Northern Africa, and particularly in Rome, were to be found the most influential forces of the religion which was coming

to dominate the empire. Here it was that Augustine was wielding great power, a power which, for the time, far exceeded that of Jerome. If Jerome held greater sway over those who knew him intimately, Augustine exerted a power over the people as a whole beyond anything Jerome may have ever desired.

Naturally too Augustine was interested in the question of the proper limits of the sacred Christian writings. Fortunately for us also he wrote distinctly what he thought about the question, and what he wrote has been preserved. It is a part of his work *De doctrina* (ii. 8).[1]

> The most skillful interpreter of the sacred writings . . . . will be he who in the first place has read them all and retained them in his knowledge . . . . those of them, at least, that are called *canonical*. . . . . Now, in regard to the canonical Scriptures, he must follow the judgment of the greater number of catholic churches; and among these, of course, a high place must be given to such as have been thought worthy to be the seat of an apostle and to receive epistles. Accordingly, among the canonical Scriptures he will judge according to the following standard: to prefer those that are received by all the catholic churches to those that some do not receive. Among those, again, which are not received by all, he will prefer such as have the sanction of the greater number and those of greater authority, to such as are held by the smaller number and those of less authority. . . . .
>
> Now the whole canon of Scriptures on which we say this judgment is to be exercised, is contained in the following books: Five books of Moses . . . . one book of Joshua the son of Nun; one of Judges; one short book called Ruth, which seems rather to belong to the beginning of Kings; next, four books of Kings, and two of Chronicles. . . . . The books now mentioned are history, which contains a connected narrative of the times, and follows the order of the events.

[1] I quote from *Select Library* . . . . First Series, II, 538–39, the most important portions of the language.

There are other books which seem to follow no regular order, and are connected neither with the order of the preceding books nor with one another, such as Job, and Tobias, and Esther, and Judith, and the two books of Maccabees, and the two of Ezra. . . . . Next are the Prophets, in which there is one book of the Psalms of David; and three books of Solomon, viz., Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. For two books, one called Wisdom and the other Ecclesiasticus, are ascribed to Solomon from a certain resemblance of style, but the most likely opinion is that they were written by Jesus the son of Sirach. Still they are to be reckoned among the prophetical books, since they have attained recognition as being authoritative. The remainder are the books which are strictly called the Prophets: twelve separate books of the prophets which are connected with one another, and having never been disjoined, are reckoned as one book; the names of these prophets are as follows: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; then there are the four greater prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel. The authority of the Old Testament is contained within the limits of these forty-four books.

That of the New Testament, again, is contained within the following: Four books of the Gospel, ... fourteen epistles of the Apostle Paul—one to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, one to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, two to the Thessalonians, one to the Colossians, two to Timothy, one to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrews; two of Peter; three of John; one of Jude; and one of James; one book of the Acts of the Apostles; and one of the revelation of John.

The two views are before us, and there is no difficulty in observing the difference of attitude. In the thought of Jerome we see the reverent scholar influenced by study of the ancient sources and impressed by Hebrew inheritance; in Augustine there appears the able and aggressive ecclesiastic, largely contented with the Scriptures as he finds them, and concerned chiefly with church authority and the recognition of that authority

on the part of individuals. All things considered, it is easy to understand why the view of Augustine controlled.

Clearly it did control. To be assured of this, one has merely to compare the preceding list with the list which composes the Vulgate. There are variations between the two lists in the order of books, but the titles are the same. The difference of opinion which Augustine recognized, as to what books were to be accepted, gave way so that the list he advocated held the field. The manner in which he presented his thought, a mark of his ability to persuade, was a deliberate method for leading others to the same conclusion.

As far as the New Testament was concerned the views of the two men agreed concerning the books to be accepted, differing only as to the authorship of Hebrews. On this point naturally the estimate of Augustine prevailed, as it did concerning the Old Testament, and the letter to the Hebrews has ordinarily, through the centuries, been regarded as coming from the pen of Paul. In view of this substantial agreement on the part of these two eminent leaders we can readily understand why Christian writings other than those in our New Testament, some of them very favorably considered as late as the fourth century, lost their recognition from the close of that century on, except for individuals or local churches here and there, and never contended seriously for a place among the accepted books. It is from the days of Jerome and Augustine then that the New Testament as a fixed collection practically dates.

The foregoing quotation from Augustine was written about the year 397. Farther along in the same discussion (ii. 15) he advises concerning the best version for

use and advocates the old Latin, which is to be corrected, if needful, from the Greek; even in the case of the Old Testament the Septuagint should be preferred to the Hebrew. His approval of the old Latin, among the Latin versions then available, was not strange. The translation of Jerome was not yet finished and had had no great opportunity for recognition, having been made primarily for the personal use of his friends. Even if Jerome's work had been completed, however, Augustine, great and devoted Christian as he was, was not the type of man to have turned readily to the new version. In justice to him, nevertheless, it should be added that before his death, in 430, he seems to have recognized something of the worth of Jerome's work.

The outcome is highly interesting. For generations both the old Latin and Jerome's versions were used, just as in our day both authorized and revised Bibles are found. In the course of time, however, the superior translation from Jerome gradually gained in favor until it largely superseded the old Latin.

The growth in acceptance and influence of the version of Jerome, until it came to be the common version for the Latin-speaking world, accordingly developed from the merits of the work itself rather than from official action. Occasion for official authorization did not arise, in fact, until after the beginning of the Reformation, when the Catholic church, in the Council of Trent, issued a decree covering the matter. Previous to that decree it was possible for a Catholic in good standing to advocate the adoption of such a view as that of Jerome; from the issuing of that decree, April 8, 1546, every portion of the Vulgate, for the Catholic church, is declared

to be of equal authority; and a Catholic must recognize the Vulgate alone as the sacred collection, superior to both Greek and Hebrew.

There is need to consider briefly the contents of that official Vulgate. To put the matter accurately I may be pardoned for quoting the words of the decree, which gives the general description of the accepted books as follows: "haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est" (this same old and common version, which by its long use through so many centuries in the church itself has been approved). Thus, while the decree determined a particular collection of books, it did not distinguish and approve a particular translation, and there have been discussions as to what text the description should be understood to include. That particular question seems still to be open, for within the last few years there have appeared announcements to the effect that the papal authorities, with the approval of the Pope, will publish a revision of the official text.

While the wording of the Latin text is thus uncertain and may conceivably be altered as the outcome of revision, there is no uncertainty concerning the books which are included. The decree provided a list. I have indicated above how, with some variations in the order of the books, it is the list of Augustine.

That list, however, is easily misunderstood. To be aware of the actual contents one must remember that, in the Vulgate, Jeremiah may include Baruch, and the Books of Esther and Daniel are those books as they appear in the Septuagint, thus retaining the additions to Esther (10:4—16:24), Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon,

which the reader will recall from the Septuagint list in chapter ix (p. 105). Accordingly the official Vulgate, the authoritative Catholic Bible, contains most, though not all, of the Septuagint as it was current among the early Christians, and in this Vulgate we have the Bible translated into Latin, as it finally stands. In some editions, even since the Council of Trent, there have been printed as an appendix the Prayer of Manassas, III Esdras, and IV Esdras, but that has not given official authorization to these books.

It will easily be seen that the period of Bible development to which this rather long chapter has chiefly been given, from the last quarter of the first century to the beginning of the fifth, is one of the most important in the history of the Bible growth. One might almost say that the modern Bible is the child of those three and a quarter centuries. At the beginning of that period only the Hebrew Law and Prophets were a definite and closed collection of sacred books; at the end of the period the limits of the entire Hebrew Scriptures had been fixed, and the contents of the sacred books of Christianity had been practically determined for more than a thousand years. Only the upheaval of the Reformation in the sixteenth century could break the collection and give it new limits, and then only for the Protestant branch of the Christian world. The study of that upheaval belongs to the discussion of modern versions.

CHAPTER XII

OTHER EARLY VERSIONS

The translation of the Hebrew Old Testament into Greek and the carrying of the entire Bible over into Latin have had most to do with the growth of the Bible in the Western world. An understanding of the course of events connected with those translations, as we have considered them, is indispensable for understanding the Bible of European and American Christianity, but an intelligent view of the history of the Bible as a whole must include something of other early versions as well. Even though those other versions have had little or no effect on the particular form of the Bible which we use, our thought of the Bible growth altogether would be one-sided and unfair to the book we love unless it includes some outline of the versions which have been influential in other parts of the world, though not in our own. We ought therefore to consider briefly some early translations which arose in Western Asia, in Eastern Europe, and in Egypt, all of which have had a potent place in the influence of the Bible as a whole. Taking the most important of these in the chronological order of their origin, we may notice the Syriac version, the Egyptian, the Gothic, the Armenian, the Ethiopic, the Arabic, and the Slavonic versions. Each of these is worthy of far more attention than the space here at command will permit.

1. Syriac version.

Among those who were at Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:5–11) were "dwellers in Mesopotamia," who, with the others in that significant list, are described as "devout men." Naturally they were interested in the unusual message which came to their ears, and it would have been strange if, when they visited again their native land, they had not carried some story of what they had heard.

spel early Mesopotamia

Whether the story of the gospel so early found a considerable place along the shores of the upper Tigris and the upper Euphrates rivers and the lands between we are unable to say. It is not difficult, however, to see how this may have been the actual course of events. Whether it was or not, there is no doubt that early in the Christian movement, perhaps before the end of the first century, certainly in the second century, Christian missionaries had planted churches in the Mesopotamian country, and the records of the work of Jesus and Paul and others associated with them were needed there for the inspiration and guidance of the ingathered disciples.

minant ce, Semitic

The dominating forces in those parts during the early Christian days, as had been the case through previous centuries, were Semitic—Semitic peoples, Semitic speech, and Semitic life. The particular type of Semitic speech employed there during the formative period of Christianity was that which we call the Syriac, kindred to Hebrew and Aramaic and Arabic. Into this Syriac language then the Scriptures were translated as soon as the Christian movement had developed far enough to make a demand for the Bible in the speech of the new converts. This is the story of all missionary endeavor.

nguage Syriac

How early such translations occurred we cannot tell. Whether it was the work of many hands or of few, or of one, we are unable to say. The beginnings of the Bible in Syriac are lost in the obscurity of the primitive times out of which the early Syriac Christian movement came. Before the close of the second century, however, the clouds lift enough for us to know that the Bible was already there in the language of the people, and the Syriac Scriptures had begun. Tatian, by the making of his famous Diatessaron, the earliest harmony of the Gospels, about the year 172, may have contributed largely to the security of the Gospels, if not the letters of Paul, in the Syrian speech, but there seems little doubt that portions of the New Testament, as well as the Old, had ere that found an enduring place in the Syrian tongue as well as in the Syrian heart.

Beyond these beginnings of the Bible in Syriac, probably one of the most important aspects of that Bible for our study is the books which this version contained. Our study of other versions has prepared us for recognizing that the contents of the version now in hand need not be at all the same as the contents of our own Bible, or even the contents of the other versions we have examined. The possibilities are further increased as soon as we remember that the Syriac translation may very well have been influenced by Semitic thought and Semitic traditions.

And so it was. The Syriac Old Testament followed closely the Hebrew rather than the Septuagint, and Syriac Christians have read an Old Testament quite like our own. But the situation concerning the New Testament has been very different. The Gospels, as

already suggested, have been in Syriac from early days, and so have letters of Paul. The order of arrangement of his letters, however, has been quite changed from that to which we are accustomed. Galatians has stood first, whether because it was probably written from Antioch in Syria, so close to the center of Mesopotamian Christianity, or because it was known to those Christians to be the earliest of Paul's letter, who can tell? Then followed Corinthians and Romans and Hebrews, thus indicating that Semitic Christianity ascribed Hebrews to the great apostle, or perhaps indicating also how its Semitic tendency of thought appealed to the Syrian mind.

The most striking aspect of the Syriac New Testament, however, is the omission of books which we have taken for granted as a part of the Christian Scriptures. As late as the middle of the fourth century, three centuries after the days of Paul, the Syriac translation of the New Testament did not include any of the seven general epistles or the Apocalypse. It was limited to the Gospels and the letters of Paul. Later, James, I Peter, and I John were added; but II Peter, II and III John, and the Apocalypse have never belonged to the Syriac New Testament, properly speaking, though they have been added in modern times. Why the Syriac was thus limited, and what the meaning was both for the early days of Bible history and for the development of Syriac Christianity—these make too long a story even to be outlined here. The mere facts, however, are important enough to be given a place in our thought and thus to become a stimulus to further consideration as opportunity may arise.

It may not have been quite correct to give the impression that the Syriac translation of the Bible was the next after that of the Latin. Indeed, as one recalls all that has been sketched above, he will see that we are in doubt as to whether the Latin was earlier than the Syriac, since the earliest evidence concerning each points to the second century as the period of its origin. It has been the importance of the Latin then, rather than assurance of priority of origin, that has warranted its fuller treatment and its apparent priority in date. Similar considerations place the Egyptian version, or rather versions, following the Syriac, since the Bible in the languages of Egypt also goes back to the early times and is shrouded in uncertainty of origin. How far back those indistinct beginnings date we can merely infer. We can readily understand that they may have been in the first century, but the data for assurance are lacking. In the second century, however, or at any rate in the third, Christianity was established in Egypt, and the first steps at least of a translation of the Scriptures into the language of the people had taken place.

Egypt always of course has been separate and distinct, in life and thought and largely in civil administration, from the districts of Northern Africa to the west, where we have found the Latin Bible developing. Accordingly Egypt went her own way in accepting the message of the gospel and a translation of that message into the speech of the people along the banks of the Nile. Though Greek influence had been potent there from the days of Greek glory as a nation, though Israel had found large share in Egyptian life and had permitted that experience to be controlled by Greek culture so far as to

accept a Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures, and though Roman power had swept the country in the days of the Caesars and had brought the land into subjection to Italian will, Egypt retained a people that clung to its native speech and who needed the Scriptures in Egyptian dress. In fact, there were dialects within the boundaries of the influence of Egyptian life and speech, and we find, as an outcome, a translation of the Bible into the language of Northern Egypt, the Bohairic, the language of Southern Egypt, the Sahidic, and into a slightly different version for the people who lived in the central portions of the country and on its confines. Thus we speak of Egyptian versions rather than of an Egyptian version. Only fragments of each of these remain, but they are sufficient to tell of their early existence and usefulness. The Old Testament, as we should anticipate outside of Palestine and Semitic influence and particularly so near to the action of the forces which produced the Old Testament in Greek, was substantially the Septuagint rather than the Hebrew.

Within a century then, or at most a century and a half, from the days of the apostles the Bible had been translated into the speech of the people of Northern Africa, of Italy, of Syria, and of Egypt. The inherent missionary character of Christianity was manifesting itself not only in the furnishing of evangelists for the people but also in the preparation of the Scripture versions which the needs of the peoples required; and with such a beginning it is only to be expected that similar enterprise will be found to have revealed itself in other directions—and so it did.

3. Gothic version

The next wide field of missionary activity was in Southeastern Europe, that portion of the European world which we call the Balkans. Here was born about the year 310, of Christian parents, the eminent Christian and linguist whom we know as Ulfilas. His parents had been brought from Asia Minor as captives by Gothic invaders, and he himself suffered at the hands of persecutors, being driven toward the shores of the Black Sea, where, in Moesia, he is said to have made a translation of the Bible for those who had taken his parents from their native land and had carried the persecution to himself. Indeed, the Goths at that time being without a written language, Ulfilas not only made the translation but prepared the alphabet in which to express the thought, using largely the Greek characters of his native tongue. Such at least is the tradition, and it is the easiest explanation of the existence of the Bible in Gothic. As Ulfilas died about the year 382, the version, or at least as much of it as he prepared, is earlier than that date. Only fragments are extant, and these furnish the basis of the study of the Gothic language and literature. Naturally a man of the inheritance of Ulfilas followed closely, in his translation, the Bible as he found it in Greek; but, strange as it may seem, there is a definite tradition that he did not include the Books of Kings, since he felt that a warlike people such as the Gothic nations did not need books which were chiefly concerned with war and easily incited to war, as the Books of Kings are at once seen to do.

SE Europe Balkans. Ulfilas, 31 In Moesia Ulfilas: died 382 Bible larg as Grk. "Kings" omitted.

4. Armenian version

Between Mesopotamia on the east and the land of the Goths on the west lies the ancient land of Armenia, whose people inhabit the shores of the Black Sea. To

these Armenians it was natural that the gospel should be taken within no long period of time after the early missionaries had carried it to the better-known lands within, or near, the empire of the Caesars. And the preaching of the gospel to the people here, as in other countries, was inevitably followed by a translation of the Bible into the Armenian tongue. As early as about the year 400 perhaps such a translation was begun, and it became a part of the Armenian Christian heritage. In the plain near the ancient mountain of Ararat, it is thought, the version for these Armenian people was prepared. And one of the most interesting features of the translation, in the direction of the study we are pursuing, is the very unusual order of the New Testament books. Following the Gospels and the Acts come the general epistles. This is not so unexpected; but when the Apocalypse is the next book, followed by the letters of Paul and attached to these is a letter of the Corinthians to Paul, after which appear Hebrews, Timothy, etc., with various manuscripts giving the several books in still other arrangements than the one just mentioned, we recognize at once the freedom with which the New Testament writings have been treated in the course of the growth through which the Bible has passed. Our interest is easily heightened as we take into account, still farther in that line of freedom, how the Armenian Old Testament, though a not distant neighbor to the Syriac, which held to the Hebrew limits of the Scriptures, leaves behind the influence of the Syriac and includes the writings of the Septuagint instead—in fact, reaches out beyond the Septuagint limits and gives place to several of the Jewish apocalyptic books. Thus in this

somewhat out-of-the-way version of the Bible we discover a very exceptional irregularity of biblical growth.

Not long after the gospel was carried northeast to the people of Armenia it was taken, in the same missionary spirit, far south to the headwaters of the Nile, and the land of Abyssinia, the home of the ancient Ethiopians, received the message. With the gospel, here as elsewhere, went the translating of the Bible into the speech of the people to whom the good news had been taken. How early this occurred in Ethiopia, as in other fields that we have considered, there is no possibility of stating with confidence. Perhaps there was an Ethiopic version as early as the year 600 and, it may be, considerably earlier. In addition to the fact of such an early translation we may well be concerned to find that the Ethiopians, like the Armenians, read even a larger collection than that of the Septuagint, so that their Old Testament included the Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees, IV Ezra, and writings ascribed to Baruch, in addition to those which the Septuagint and Vulgate contained. Their New Testament also had its individual character; supplementary to the usual books it included a collection of writings called the Canon Law, a mark of the broad lines of interest which possessed these Christians in the distant parts of the African world.

Perhaps this unusual collection accepted by the Armenians at the north and another exceptional collection held by the Ethiopians far to the south have more significance than the mere facts themselves imply. How did it come about that such irregular collections developed on the confines of the Christian realm? Why

should the growth of the Bible disclose such curiosities of development in the most distant parts of Christian activity? Was it because these fields of life and thought were remote from the center of ecclesiastical influence and authority? Was there a freedom in the distant lands then, just as the missionary countries today are those which sometimes startle the Christians at home by the unusual methods which they employ and the liberties which they take with the established ideas and customs of the lands which have carried the Bible to them? Possibly so at least. The facts at any rate stimulate attention and furnish material for further thought concerning the meaning of Bible growth.

Now we observe the spread of Christianity into the lands of Islam and note how once more missionary enterprise includes a new version of the Christian Scriptures. This leads to the consideration of the Arabic versions into which the Bible had been carried. Since Mohammed lived in the sixth century and the Moslem countries did not become missionary territory until later, the Arabic Bible belongs to the eighth century, or farther along. In the matter of its contents perhaps the most significant factor is the absence of the Apocalypse from among the books of the New Testament, this absence suggesting, either that Moslem Christianity grew out of Arabic, which never accepted the Apocalypse, as would have been natural, or that the thought of Islam has never been appealed to by the visions of the apocalyptic portion of the New Testament. In any case, the fact is indicative of how the Apocalypse was a book cherished in the West rather than in the East of the world of early Christianity.

One more translation of the Scriptures must have attention as we look even briefly at the earlier versions into which the Bible has passed. This is the Slavonic. It is attributed to two men who were brothers, Cyril and Methodius, sons of a Greek nobleman of Thessalonica, where they had opportunity to understand Slavic speech as well as their native Greek. They lived in the ninth century, so that before the year 900 the Bible, as well as the gospel message, had been carried to the Slavic peoples. As the Slavs, still in their primitive life, lacked a written language, Cyril, the tradition says, created an alphabet with which to write the translation he and Methodius had made, and their labors and their interest were more than rewarded. They not only furnished the Bible in permanent form for one of the great races and laid the foundations for Eastern Christianity, but also provided the linguistic materials for the widely spread and most significant Slavic literatures. As would be natural at the time when the translation was made and in the environment in which its authors lived, the version shows dependence on the Vulgate, though some of the books of the Old Testament offer evidence that they were prepared with reference to the Hebrew and a knowledge of its value. Very likely Cyril and Methodius did not cover the entire Bible, some portions being translated by later hands.

Thus we sketch the growth of the Bible far along in the Middle Ages, giving some attention to those versions which possess any considerable importance—in fact, up to the period which paved the way for the Reformation.

From the beginning of the Hebrew Old Testament, in the time of Moses, or earlier, down to the origin of the

Septuagint, the growth of the Bible was likened, appropriately enough, to the gathering of the streams out of which are formed a great river. Then the comparison to a river began to lose its appropriateness and its force. In place of the assembling of streams of thought the Scriptures began to display such branching as is characteristic of the growth of a tree rather than of a stream of water, and that growth by branching has repeatedly manifested itself in the versions we have noticed; and it would have been equally evident in lesser translations which would require attention if the survey we are following were to include all details of versions that appeared rather than merely to indicate the main outlines of development as evidence of the natural growth through which the Bible has passed. At the close of the Middle Ages then the Bible stands before us like a mighty oak, its roots reaching down into the eternal soils of primitive life, its main trunk of divine thought strong in the Hebrew and Greek fibers of the original Old Testament and the New, its great branches of the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the Syriac spreading out over the world, and, forth from this mighty trunk and these towering branches, its lesser branches that we have looked upon, and those smaller ones that our eyes have missed, giving shade and comfort to a world of human life.

CHAPTER XIII

MODERN VERSIONS

Modern history and the modern world have their beginning in the Renaissance, that period of new interest in classical learning, in the facts of life, and in man himself which dates from the fourteenth century and had its natural fruit in the Reformation of the sixteenth. Through the long earlier centuries of the Middle Ages Greek was almost forgotten, and the splendid literature which had been written in it was unknown in its original form. Hebrew was not thought of outside of its own Jewish family and scattered friends here and there. Latin was the general language of the Roman world and its counterpart the Holy Roman Empire, but it was not to a large extent the speech of the people. They used their own national, or racial, tongues. Otherwise there would not have been occasion for the Bible translations which we considered in chapter xii and the less significant ones which we have passed without even mention.

While the new interest in learning and science came to have immense influence on religion and Christianity, that was not the purpose of those, like Petrarch, who were responsible for the new era of life. These leaders toward a new day were concerned in learning, in classical thought and literature, in man, and in the world of nature, for the sake of the worth of these objects of study themselves. The works of Aristotle, and likewise the

stars of the sky, would repay in their own study the effort which was required.

Such an attitude of mind, however, must inevitably have its effect on the sources of religious thought and, in the end, on the religious life itself. Some time was needed, but the effect was sure to come. In spite of the long mental drowsiness of the Middle Ages the shock of contact with classical life and power must produce an awakening, the more rude perhaps because of the vast period of dulness and inactivity. Christianity could not live indefinitely apart from learning when learning was overcoming the world; and Christianity with learning, like the world itself, must become new.

This new world of Christianity came to birth in the Reformation. Its counterpart in the field of literature was a new Bible. With this last aspect of the new world we are chiefly concerned.

There is no birth without conception and the prenatal time of embryonic growth and enrichment. This is as true in the things of the spirit as in the life of the flesh; it is as true in the literature of Christianity as it is in the Christian life and growth. We are not surprised then to discover that the Bible of the Reformation was the Bible of grace and strength; and it is equally to be expected that the Reformation Scriptures have their conception in the generations of new learning out of which the Reformation was born.

Bible revisions before the Reformation.

Thus it was. As early as the fourteenth century the new life of Bible revision began to make itself distinctly felt. In fact, the first signs of vitality may be traced farther back, just as there were promptings of the Renaissance before Petrarch and his followers of the years

succeeding 1300. Perhaps it would be more correct, however, to call those first movements only the weakened extension of the early interest in Bible translation which we have already studied, recognizing that the modern versions have a real beginning with the promptings received from the stimulus of the revival of learning.

However the matter be stated, it is in the fourteenth and following centuries that we discover an interest in Bible translation and in the use of these vernacular versions such as had never before displayed itself either in degree or in the extent of the countries to which it reached. It is worth our while briefly to consider some of these movements.

England.

The most important of these movements for English readers, and one of the most significant for all lovers of the Bible, is that interwoven into the life and service of John Wiclif,[1] who died in 1384. The story of his eagerness to carry the gospel to the common people of England is well known. In this endeavor he soon found that the labors of himself and his "poor priests" could not be effective unless the Scriptures, along with the oral message, should be given to the people for whom the workers were concerned. The next step was to make translations of parts of the Bible from the Latin into the English of the time. Therefore the New Testament was translated largely, if not altogether, by Wiclif himself, and Nicholas Hereford and others completed the Old Testament. This was naturally the Old Testament of the Vulgate. Indeed Wiclif and his co-workers had no thought other than to render the Latin Vulgate into the speech of the English people, the interest in Hebrew

John Wyclif d. 1384.

N.T. into E

O.T. by Nicholas Here

[1] Spelled also Wycliffe, and in other ways.

and Greek being a point of view yet to develop in modern Christianity. It is worth while to note also that the Epistle to the Laodiceans, which we have found included in some of the earlier versions or collections, still cherished in spite of Jerome and Augustine, was included among the books which Wiclif was concerned to render into English, though it was soon omitted by those who continued his work.

In France, pre-eminent in the Renaissance movement, desire for a translation of the Bible into the language, or rather the dialects, of the people, showed itself before the fourteenth century, for there are evidences that the entire Bible, the Vulgate of course, had been carried over into French speech not long after the year 1200, thus providing for the need of the people as early as the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth other versions followed, furnishing those who were desirous of the Scriptures a means for the satisfaction of their hunger. These potent activities extended their influence across the Alps, and Italian versions of the fourteenth century, or earlier, bearing marks of relationship to the French translations but put into the speech of the Italian people, met the immediate needs and paved the way for later and better versions.

Spain and Portugal also experienced the effect of widespread interest in the popular use of the Scriptures. In one respect, indeed, they were well favored. Situated near the Strait of Gibraltar, where Moslem and Jewish influence from Northern Africa had made themselves felt, the people of these two countries more easily than some others were responsive to the common desire for the Bible in everyday speech. So strong had the

inclination in this way been in the earlier days that, as far back as 1233, in Spain, the use of the Bible in the common language of the people had been prohibited. In spite of these hindrances, however, versions appeared and were current in the fourteenth century, some of them manifesting in marked degree the influence of Jewish rabbis who had become concerned to bring the Scriptures, from the Jewish point of view, into the hands of the people.

On the other side of France, to the north and east, the situation in Holland and Germany is no less attractive. As early as the year 1300, it is thought, a version was prepared for those who used the Flemish tongue in the low countries. In Germany clear evidence of still earlier versions has been found. A peculiarity of some of these translations is that the Latin and the German of the time are placed in parallel columns, thus furnishing the benefit of both versions for all who were able to use both languages. Even across into Scandinavia interest in popular reading of the Bible arose, and there are traces of a Swedish translation of parts of the Scriptures before the fourteenth century had closed.

In other parts of Europe, before the year 1400, and thus belonging to the fourteenth century, there are traces of portions of the Bible carried into the popular speech. Mention of the popular interest which displayed itself in Bohemia particularly, culminating in the unique service and the martyrdom of John Hus, in 1415, may well be made.

All of these translations, except where Jewish influence has been noted, were prepared, naturally, from the Vulgate; and this tells at once the contents of the Bible

which was translated, either in whole or, as probably often occurred, in part, the Gospels and the Psalms being the portions receiving first attention, just as has been the case in modern missionary activities.

The foundations for modern versions of the Bible having been so deeply and so broadly laid in the fourteenth century, we need not be surprised that the fifteenth manifests a different type of activity. Translations being already in existence, those who were concerned with their use and improvement found revision easier than retranslation. There is the possibility too that the abounding energy which produced the fourteenth-century versions did not exist, at least did not exist in the same form, during the next generations. In any case, go in what direction we will for an explanation, the fifteenth century was not fruitful in efforts to bring the Bible into the language of people who theretofore had been without it in their own tongue. It did well, in fact, to cherish and maintain the versions bequeathed by its predecessor.

The fifteenth century was notable in another way. It was the period out of which came the invention of printing and the multiplication of copies of the Bible, as well as of other books, to a degree not dreamed of hitherto; and the Bible, of course, was one of the volumes earliest to gain from the new art. Before the year 1500 several of the versions made and slightly circulated in manuscript in the fourteenth century were much more widely and easily available because the printer had released the Scriptures from the limitations of the pen.

The sixteenth was the century of the Reformation and of upheaval in translations of the Bible. The

leaven of learning had been working, and the bread of life in new form must appear. It appeared in England and on the Continent; the peoples of varied speech received the old message in new words, in language familiar to their ears and welcome to their hearts. In the coming of this new Bible, as in the coming of the entire movement of the Reformation, Luther and Germany were the leaders, and the progress there is entitled to first attention.

We date the Reformation from October, 1517, when Luther nailed his ninety-five theses on the chapel door at Wittenberg. Important events followed fast. Out of these Luther learned quickly that the new message he was taking to the people must be supported by printed copies of the Scriptures to which he was appealing. This meant new translations of portions of the Bible in the fresh and vigorous German of which he was a master. Such translation of parts of the Psalms, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and portions of the Gospels and epistles were brought to their natural fruitage with the appearance of a new version of the entire New Testament in September, 1522. Even before that Luther had conceived of a new version of the entire Bible, and his dream was brought to realization with the printing of the whole Bible in 1534.

Luther's translation was made on the basis of the Hebrew for the Old Testament and the Greek for the New. This attitude toward the Bible writings had not before been taken, at least with any thoroughness, since the time of Jerome; and even he, as we have observed, deferred in some degree to the feeling of his friends, who had come to cherish the larger collection of sacred books

as received from the Septuagint. Luther, as might be expected from his vigorous and unyielding temper, was more determined and consistent. Though he did not discard the Old Testament books not found in the Hebrew, he brought non-Hebrew writings into a separate collection, and they were printed as a middle portion of the Bible between the Old Testament and the New, with the title

> Apocrypha, that is books which are not held equal to the sacred Scriptures, and nevertheless are useful and good to read.

In taking this position Luther had undoubtedly been influenced by a work of Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt, published in 1520, in which he had reviewed the discussions of Jerome and Augustine and had inclined to the idea of Jerome, carrying that idea even farther than Jerome had done.

The translation of Luther is notable in two respects. It had furnished a new arrangement of the books of the Bible, with a depreciation of the worth of the Old Testament writings not found in Hebrew, and it had carried the thought of the Bible over into such remarkable German diction as to make that version almost the only German Bible for generations and to give a new uniformity and fixity to German speech.

The Luther version of the Bible is significant for its influence outside of, as well as within, Germany. The people of Holland were kindred in both race and language and were near at hand. The work of Luther and his colaborers appealed to them with force and zest, and a Dutch Bible, in the language of the people of the day, appeared at the same period as Luther's version in

Germany, beginning in 1522 and being completed in 1532. The labor was hastily performed, the need of revision was soon felt, and the Bible, with such changes included, was issued in 1536. Into Denmark and Sweden also the enterprise of Luther was carried, and the Bible appeared in new dress. In Denmark the New Testament was published in 1524, and the entire Bible was completed as early as 1550. Sweden felt the new impetus almost as soon for the New Testament and more quickly for the Old, a Swedish version of the New Testament strongly controlled by the language of Luther issuing in 1526, and of the Old Testament as early as 1541. Even in more remote Hungary, though not so directly an outgrowth of the version of Luther and retarded in time, a sixteenth-century translation, highly important for the Protestant movement, came to light. It was the work of Kaspar Karolyi, issuing in 1589–90, and was so valuable that it is still used among the Hungarian people. In Russia also, as early as 1581, a new version appeared, related in origin, however, to the early Slavic. And in Poland even sooner, in 1561, there was published a new version of the entire Bible, various translations of portions of the Scriptures having been issued during the previous years since 1500.

To the west, in France, the course of events was different. France and Germany have never pursued kindred lines of development nor found similar avenues of progress congenial. This diversity of development was true in the use of the Bible. The effect of the new learning manifested itself in its own way for the French people. In the translation of the Bible it began with the very important work of Le Fèvre d'Etaples, who,

within the years 1523 to 1530, brought out a new version of the Vulgate, thus indicating a conservative attitude toward the ancient collection of Scripture writings at the same time that the need of a new translation was recognized.

The Protestant leaven was at work, however, in France as well as among the Germanic and kindred peoples, and in 1535 Olivetan published a version from the Protestant point of view. It was particularly valuable in the case of the Old Testament, both in its faithfulness to the Hebrew and in the literary qualities of the French, so that it has become a basis for later versions.

In Italy too the force of the new Scripture ideas was felt. Florence, the foster-mother of liberty in spite of papal power, furnished the labors of Brucioli, who as early as 1528 began the work of translation, and the New Testament was published at Venice in 1530. The Psalms followed the next year, and the new version of the Bible was completed in 1532, the Old Testament finding dependence on the Hebrew and the New on the Greek.

While we think of Germany as the first home of the Reformation and give honor to Luther as the first to bring the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek to the people in a modern form of speech which has retained its hold to the present day, a corresponding movement among the English-speaking people was not far behind, and the Bible in English as a translation from the original tongues of the Scriptures did not tarry long. The leaven of Europe was working as surely in Britain as among the Teutonic nations. For the English-speaking

world of today this British activity has its own peculiar interest, power, and charm.

British activity in the remaking of the form of the Bible, as is well known, dates from the labors of William Tindale,[1] who was born sometime before 1490 and paid the price of his devotion to the Bible by martyrdom in 1536. The path which he trod, therefore, was less smooth even than that over which Luther had to pass. The obstacles before the reformers in England were far greater than those in Germany, the English people, or rather the English rulers and ruling classes, moving more slowly than the Germans, with whom Luther and his friends had immediately to deal.

In their devotion to the original languages of the Scriptures, Luther and Tindale were alike, and both gave attention first to the New Testament. Luther's labors came to fruitage a little earlier, in 1522, as we have seen, Tindale's translation of the New Testament from the Greek, the first New Testament in English brought over directly from the Greek, being printed in 1525, coming then from presses in Germany, because his native land would not tolerate his epoch-making service. The remaining eleven years of his life he spent chiefly, if not altogether, on the Continent, much of the time at Hamburg and Antwerp, working constantly on the translation of the Old Testament and the revision of the New, and having the satisfaction of seeing both appear from the press before he was trapped by his ignoble enemies and sacrificed on the altar of blind tradition. His work, however, could not be undone, and he has the enduring glory of bringing the New Testament directly

[1] Also spelled Tyndale, and in other ways.

from the Greek fountains over to the lasting use of the English-speaking world.

By one of the curious ironies of history, the same year, 1535, in which Tindale was arrested and imprisoned, saw the printing of the so-called Bible of Coverdale, who suffered no such penalties as had come to Tindale, the shifting of the scenes of prejudice having combined more to his favor. For us the chief interest perhaps of this Bible is the treatment which Coverdale gave the books of the Old Testament which were not found to exist in Hebrew. Here he followed the example of Luther, or, if it was not the attitude of Luther which controlled him, at least he did the same thing, collecting these books together between the Old Testament and the New. He was careful also to give his reasons for so doing. He spoke of these writings as "the books and treatises which among the fathers of old are not reckoned to be of like authority with the other books of the Bible, neither are they found in the canon of the Hebrew." He thought it well, however, to retain Baruch "among the prophets next unto Jeremiah, because he was his scribe and in his time." Later editions of the English Bible, however, have placed Baruch among those not found in the Hebrew.

Thus we have come to the time in the history of the Bible, both on the Continent of Europe and in Great Britain, when there was not only a decision to give superior authority to the books of the Old Testament found in the Hebrew but also a definite movement to separate the non-Hebrew books from the others and print them by themselves between the Old Testament and the New, and to give them the general title Apoc-

rypha. The word itself is suggestive and has a considerable history of its own. That history would be attractive to review, but it is not essential and must be passed over, merely noting that the term means concealed, or hidden, and that it came to designate books which were regarded and treated differently from others; in the case of the Bible, those writings which were regarded unfavorably when considering the question whether a writing should be included among the fully sacred books. In this connection it is worthy of notice that at Zurich, Switzerland, in 1529–30, a Bible was printed in which the Apocrypha was placed at the close, after the New Testament. This of course was due to the influence of the work of Luther, except that those who were responsible for this particular edition of the Bible went to the extreme and put the secondary books in the most subordinate position they could discover while retaining them at all. As this position was manifestly unhistorical, it could not maintain itself and was not continued.

The years following 1535 saw one English Protestant Bible after another appear and claim attention. There was the so-called Matthews Bible in 1537, the Tavenner in 1539, the Great Bible as the result of various workers in the same year, the Geneva Bible in 1560, and the Bishops in 1568. Each possesses its own individual interest and in any detailed history of the English Bible would require appropriate description. For us, in the present study, the chief significance of these several slightly variant translations is to observe how closely they followed each other, feel the biblical unrest which this situation betokens for the English Christians of

that period, and remember that the Geneva version, the most important of the list, was made by English exiles in Switzerland and came to have wide acceptance and potent influence among the people in Britain itself, as well as no mean place in determining the language which still later English versions have used.

During this period the Church of England took important action bearing on the acceptance of biblical writings, action which serves well to disclose the English thought of the time concerning the books of the Bible and to show how the labors which resulted in the above-mentioned versions were tending toward a crystallization of views concerning the manner in which the several books should be esteemed. This action was the formulation and adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles of religion of the English church. In their Latin form they were recognized in 1562. To make them more accessible, yet without change of their binding character, they were recognized in English form by the convocation of 1571. Of the thirty-nine different articles, the sixth deals with the names of the books of the Bible and the way in which they are to be accepted. In treating "of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation" there is given a list "of the names and number of the canonical books," which includes the ordinary books of the Old Testament, after which the article continues:

> And the other books (as *Hierome* saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following: The Third Book of Esdras, The Fourth Book of Esdras, The Book of Tobias, The Book of Judith, The Rest of the Book of Esther, The Book of Wisdom, Jesus the Son of

Sirach, Baruch the Prophet, The Song of the Three Children, The Story of Susanna, Of Bel and the Dragon, The Prayer of Manasses, The First Book of Maccabees, The Second Book of Maccabees.

Thus the view of Jerome and the tendency of the Protestant thought of the sixteenth century was given official recognition by the controlling ecclesiastical authority of the English people of the period. The books which were beginning to be called the Apocrypha were retained as part of the Bible but separated by themselves and assigned to a subordinate place of esteem.

One more English version of the sixteenth century commands our careful consideration. Like the Genevan, it was produced by English-speaking people while in exile. As Protestants had been forced to leave England during the reign of Mary, 1553–58, and before their return made the Genevan Bible, so in the reign of Elizabeth, 1558–1603, Catholics fled to foreign lands, especially to France, in order to escape the Elizabethan persecutions, and while thus deprived of their homes prepared the Catholic version which ordinarily bears the name of the Douay Bible.

To understand the importance of the Douay version it is necessary to recall the action of the Council of Trent, in 1546, which has already been mentioned (p. 166). The decree then adopted by the Council made the Vulgate the supreme form of the Roman Catholic Bible. The action was the natural outcome, as may now be readily seen, of the decision of Luther and Coverdale and others of the Protestant leaders to separate the non-Hebrew writings of the Old Testament from the Hebrew and place them in a subordinate status, as Luther had

done in 1534 and Coverdale a year later. The Catholic church, long an advocate of the authority of the church and its usages, long accustomed to exalt the authority of the early church leaders like Augustine and Jerome, particularly those, like Augustine, who had elevated tradition into the place of truth, reacted naturally against the assumptions of Luther, Tindale, Coverdale, and their followers, and declared that the same books which had been used through the centuries should continue to be used and, from 1546 on, should be stamped with a definite and inevitable right to be heard, read, and obeyed.

For English-speaking Catholics then the Vulgate must be the ultimate authority as the Bible, and any translation into English must grow out of that Vulgate edition. The Douay Bible accordingly is an English version of the Latin Vulgate, including all that the Vulgate includes, arranging the books of the Old Testament in the Vulgate order, and altogether reproducing the official Catholic Latin Vulgate in English as faithfully as the translators were able to perform this sacred service.

The work of the translators was completed as early as 1582. Only part of the money necessary to print the entire Bible was available. Preference was naturally given to the New Testament, and this appeared that year, being printed at Rheims, France. The full title is significant:

> The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greek and other editions in divers languages: with Arguments of books and chapters, annotations, and other necessary helps, for the

better understanding of the text, and specially for the discovery of the Corruptions of divers late translations, and for clearing the Controversies in religion, of these days.

Thus the translators not only furnished an English version suitable for the use of English Catholics but also warned the readers of the Protestant version how the versions placed in their hands could not be trusted. That there was some basis for this warning will appear as we go on to consider what English Protestants did within a generation to improve the Bible in the hands of English readers.

Before we take that further step one or two more aspects of the Douay Bible and its meaning should be noticed. The New Testament having appeared in 1582, lack of funds prevented the publication of the Old Testament until 1609–10, when it was issued in two volumes at Douay, France, from which place and from the Catholic college located there the name of the version is derived. The complete publication of this version accordingly carries us along into the beginning of the seventeenth century.

O.T. print 1609-10 in Douay France

The point we have thus reached in a brief sketch of the origin of the Catholic Bible in English, when the facts considered are related to those of the growth of the Bible as a whole, and particularly to those connected with the Protestant versions, is an opportune moment to clear up the oft-recurring question of the relation between the English Catholic Bible and the Protestant Bibles. Probably, after what has already been said, little more, if anything, is needed. The reader has discovered that the differences between the Bible of the Protestants and the Bible of the Catholics are the outcome of centuries

Rel. betw Eng. Catho & Protestan Bibles

of Bible development, in the course of which there was opportunity for variation of opinion as to what the Bible should be, and actual difference of opinion disclosed itself. In the early days of the Christian Era the question arose as to whether the larger collection of the Septuagint, or essentially that, should be received for the Old Testament, or whether the Hebrew only should be approved. Augustine and the ecclesiastically inclined preferred the larger collection, and it continued to be used as the liberal-minded Jews had used it before. During the more than one thousand years from Augustine to the Reformation little further thought was bestowed on the question. When the reformers assumed to return to the view of Jerome and to the authority of the Hebrew Bible, the long-established and self-assured Catholic church, inevitably from a historical point of view, confirmed and proclaimed the authority of the larger collection, in the order and in the form and language in which it had long been used. When an English version of the Bible was prepared for Catholics, at the close of the sixteenth century, after the decree of the Council of Trent, it could not be anything else than a translation of the larger collection, the official Vulgate. Thus, as naturally from a historical point of view as anything could occur, the Catholic Bible differs from the Protestant widely in content, in arrangement, and in the choice of language to express the thought of the original tongues of the Scriptures themselves.

We have now sketched the most important of the versions of the sixteenth century. It would be quite incorrect, however, to leave any impression that all the versions of that period have been noticed. Particularly

it would be unfair to suggest that the Douay Bible was the only Catholic version in the language of the people of the time. Highly important as this Bible was for its own period and as it has been for succeeding generations of the English-speaking world, it by no means covers the translation of the Bible into the vernacular of the various Catholic peoples in the large realm of the Christian world as a whole. Some of those that appeared in other languages than English may be briefly mentioned.

In France the version of Le Fèvre d'Etaples, already referred to, was revised in the interest of Catholic views and issued at Louvain in 1550. Italy, of course, was tardy in receiving the Scriptures in the speech of the people, but the prohibition of the use of such versions by Pius IV in 1564, a decree which remained in effect till 1757, reveals the fact that vernacular versions were probably in use in the middle of the sixteenth century, and the Pope's action was taken to stop the further reading of them. In Germany several Catholic translations appeared in efforts to counteract the tremendous influence of the version of Luther. As early as 1526, only four years after Luther's New Testament was issued, a Catholic New Testament was published, followed by another in the next year, and by the entire Bible in 1534; and in 1537 Eck, the noted antagonist of Luther, brought out the whole Bible in still another edition. Holland also, for the Catholics as for the Protestants, followed the example of Germany, a Dutch Catholic New Testament appearing in 1527, a Latin-Dutch in parallel columns in 1539, and a complete Bible in 1548. Even in Poland the Catholics felt the need of counteracting the Protestant movement by issuing a Catholic version of the

Scriptures, a Polish version of the Bible being published in 1561 and a more important edition in 1599.

In the seventeenth century the most significant progress in Bible translation occurred in England. This was the outgrowth probably of two or three factors of the English situation. For one thing, the versions of the sixteenth century, as suggested above (p. 197), had given no such satisfaction to English readers as the work of Luther had furnished to the Germans. Then too the Reformation had advanced much more slowly in England than on the Continent, but through the activities of the Puritans it was making permanent gain, and the need of a version of the Bible responsive to that gain was widely felt. Still further, the new king, James I, was flattered with the proposition that he become the patron of such a translation of the Bible as the English people ought to have.

This idea was presented to the king soon after he came to the throne in 1603. He responded favorably, and a company of learned divines was selected to undertake the work. Without going into the details of this enterprise, which have been so often told and are easily available in the standard books, it is sufficient here to recall that out of the situation as it was came the King James, or Authorized, Version of the Bible, which was published in 1611 and has remained until the present day not only the chief Bible used in Great Britain and the United States but also the Scriptures as they have been carried wherever English colonization and English-speaking missionary efforts have entered in the making of the modern world. At last a version of the Bible had appeared which performed for the English-speaking

peoples that which had been done by Luther for the Germans.

The version was made, of course, from the Hebrew of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New. The Apocrypha was retained, but, in accord with the act of convocation in 1571, quoted above (p. 194), it was placed as a separate collection between the two Testaments, where it has remained in those editions of the Protestant English Bible which have printed it at all. Some editions in the years immediately following, and many more in recent times, have appeared with the Apocrypha entirely omitted.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the influence of the English authorities was opposed to omitting the Apocrypha, and action prohibiting its omission was taken in 1615. This severe attitude, however, did not long continue, and as early as 1629 the Authorized Version was printed without the Apocrypha. The growing disfavor of the Apocrypha came from the opposition of the Puritans and the increase of Presbyterianism and showed itself in definite action when the Westminster Confession was adopted in 1648, in which it was declared that the books of the Apocrypha,

> not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the canon of the scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the church of God, nor to be in any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings.

This severe decision was doubtless a reaction in some measure against the view of the Apocrypha accepted by the Church of England in 1571 and continuously maintained since that time. It discloses the two estimates

which were entertained in the British dominions. Gradually, in spite of the attitude of the Church of England, the opposition to the Apocrypha increased, and in 1827 the British and Foreign Bible Society decided to exclude the Apocrypha from all its publications after that date.

Having thus passed for a moment beyond the limits of the seventeenth century in order to note the experience through which the Apocrypha passed, we may now return to the years following 1600 and consider briefly some other versions of that century which are important for our survey.

One of the most significant Bibles belonging to the same period as the Authorized Version is the translation which appeared in Italy as the outcome of the labors of Diodati. It was a Protestant enterprise and appeared in 1607, four years earlier than the King James Version. So well done was the work that it is still the ordinary Bible in use among the Protestants of Italy. In Portugal also, before the close of the century, a version in the language of the people appeared. It was the work of John Ferreira d'Almeida who, after serving as a Catholic missionary, embraced the Protestant view and devoted himself to the translation of a version of the Bible which was published, with the co-operation of others, the New Testament in 1681 and the completed Bible in the eighteenth century (1751).

We are now in a position to see that the labor of rendering the Bible into the languages of the modern world had largely been performed before the year 1700. Revisions have been made since that time, some of them important. Particularly for the English reader the revision which was begun in 1870, resulting in the publi-

cation of the New Testament in 1881 and the Old in 1885, with its still further revision by American scholars and publication in 1901, is highly important. The fact that in the plans for the version the Apocrypha was practically forgotten until 1872, when the arrangements for the printing of the Bible by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge led to an agreement to publish the Apocrypha separately, is itself significant of recent opinion. For the ordinary Protestant reader of the Bible the Apocrypha has no place. Such is the change which has come about in one great branch of the Christian world since the upheaval of the Reformation.

It should be added that the Apocrypha has gained in another way what it has lost for the common reader. In it those who desire to learn the story of the sacred writings of Christendom as a whole find some of the most valuable data for their use. Recognizing the close relationship between the Apocrypha and the Old Testament and the kinship which Jewish apocalyptic literature has to both, students of Judaism and early Christianity find in these writings a storehouse of material out of which to discover and write the history of the religion of Israel and the beginning of the growth of Christianity. Thus the Apocrypha has not been lost, and is not likely to be lost, to the life and furtherance of the Christian religion.

The story of the versions of the Bible has by no means been told with completeness. Nothing has been said of the recent translations for carrying the Scriptures to the Indians of North America, begun as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century by the pioneer missionary John Eliot; of the translations that

have accompanied and supported the missionary enterprises in Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea; or of the very recent so-called modern translations intended to place the thought of the Bible in the English, the German, the French, and other languages of today. Such versions in themselves, when taken all together, are counted by the hundreds, and it is obvious that even the merest outline of their history would command no small space in any volume which would attempt their description.

Such a description is no part of the plan of this book. If the description were to be given, it would not add to the story of the growth of the Bible as a whole. It would merely furnish added illustrations of the Bible development which has already been sketched in its important aspects. The Bibles of the missionaries and the Bibles of translators who in recent years have rendered the Scriptures into modern speech have been either the Hebrew of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New, or parts of these, or, in the case of Catholic activities, the official Vulgate. None of these translations has contributed to the growth of the Bible other than to scatter its messages more widely throughout the world.

In outline the Bible now stands before us as a marvelous growth. Its beginnings, like the deep-reaching roots of all life, are hidden in the primitive unfolding of Israelitish experience. As the springs of the fountains from the eternal hills are beyond our reach, so the springs of the Scriptures are too far back in the life of the past for us to touch them with certainty. This lack of knowledge, however, in no way hinders us from

seeing and venerating the later growth. We accept it as it appears, discern its enrichment and new power, observe it come to fulness through the labors of Jesus and the apostles, and then follow its distribution, its varied handling, its differentiation, its abiding strength, and its consummate glory in our own day. And we have no fear that, in the days to come, it will lose its worth. New knowledge of its history and its meaning, new study to enter into its secret place, will only enrich it and enrich the world.

CHAPTER XIV

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BIBLE WRITINGS AND VERSIONS

The reader may like to have a chronological summary of the results of this study. With some hesitation, because of the difficulty involved, one is offered. Like the study itself, the summary is intended to show the growth of the Bible rather than to enter into nicety of details concerning the literary elements which are under discussion. For the purpose thus indicated an arrangement chiefly by centuries appears convenient and suggestive. Even in that form, however, the dating of various literary events must be regarded as merely approximate. While some of the writings of uncertain date may belong earlier than the period mentioned, error is more likely to have occurred by placing authorship too early.

B.C.	
Before 1250	Primitive songs and other folklore, but probably not written.
1250–1200	Approximately the period of Moses' activity. Songs, annals, and the beginning of written legal rules and precedents.
1200–1000	Occupation of western Palestine by Israel. Adaptation of previous literature to the new conditions, with perhaps some development of it by Joshua, Samuel, and possibly others.
1000–800	Book of Jashar and other poetry, royal annals, development of letter-writing, probably the begin-

B.C.	
1000–800	ning of written prophecy by prophetic scribes rather than by prophets themselves, first traces of Davidic psalmody.
800–700	Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah issued their messages, which were later collected and edited into their present form. Here may belong Prov. 10:1—22:16.
700–600	Nahum, Zephaniah, and probably Habakkuk lived and wrote the prophecies which were afterward arranged as we have them under these names. Before 620 the brief Law as disclosed in the Temple was prepared. Near the same time the ministry of Jeremiah began.
600–500	Jeremiah completed his work, leaving a considerable number of prophecies as prepared by his amanuensis and later arranged and edited by others. Here was written the great work of Ezekiel. In this century may be placed with some certainty the works of Joel and Obadiah, the Book of Lamentations, with Prov. 1:1—9:18; 22:17—24:22; 25:1—29:27. Haggai delivered his exhortations in the year 520, and within the next two years the ministry of Zechariah occurred, though a considerable portion of the book which bears his name and its final arrangement as a whole belong to a much later period. Probably in the latter half of this century is to be dated most, if not all, of Isaiah, chaps. 40–66. To this period may belong also the Book of Job.
500–400	To the beginning of this century may be assigned perhaps the Book of Jonah; and the Books of Ruth, Ecclesiastes, and Malachi seem to date themselves before the century closes. Here likewise belong Prov. 30 and 31, and apparently some of the psalms. The great literary event of this period, however, is the completion of the Hexateuch out of manifold sources, perhaps even more than those suggested in the discussion of the question in chapter vii.

B.C.

400–300 Within this period we may date the composition of the Song of Songs, Esther, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, and the later portions of the Book of Zechariah. In this century and perhaps even earlier the translation of portions of the Hebrew Law into Greek is likely to have occurred, though the tradition concerning the translation places it about 275, and so in the next century. The tradition, however, is probably connected with the completion, or with some outstanding element, of the translation, the inception having occurred considerably earlier. Some of the psalms may belong to this century.

300–200 Unless some of the writings assigned to earlier periods were really written or finally edited here, this century was not fruitful in new works, Baruch being the only book which appears most certainly to have place at this time. The century as a whole, however, was highly important, since at about the close of it the great collection of the Prophets assumed essentially its permanent form. Here belongs likewise much of the translation of the Law and very likely some at least of the Prophets into Greek. Probably some of the psalms also may have originated at this time.

200–100 At the beginning of this century, or a little earlier, we should date the composition of Ecclesiasticus. Following this perhaps, or at any rate about the year 165, the Book of Daniel was written. Somewhere in the century may belong I Esdras, Judith, Tobit (Tobias), and the Prayer of Manassas. The development of psalmody undoubtedly continued. Probably many of the Hebrew books of the Old Testament not previously translated were here carried over into Greek. Here, or later, may belong the latest of the psalms.

B.C.

100–1 In this last century before the Christian Era were probably written I Maccabees, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Psalms of Solomon, and perhaps the Song of the Three Children, the rest of Esther (that is, the portions not in the Hebrew), and III Maccabees. As some of these show evidence of having been written in Hebrew, the Greek version of such may very likely have appeared not long afterward and so, in some instances at any rate, within the same century.

A.D.

1–100 Here may belong II Maccabees, and probably also IV Maccabees and II Esdras. The period is supremely significant, however, as the time of the writing of most, if not all, of the books of the New Testament, and for the closing, practically if not finally, of the collection of the Writings as the third division of the Hebrew Scriptures about the year 90 as a result of the scribal discussions at Jamnia.

100–200 This century witnessed the completion of any New Testament writings which may not have been in final form before, saw most of the gospel narratives except our four sifted out, brought the letters of Paul into something like a collection, and gathered other letters and the Apocalypse in a similar way in those parts of Christendom, particularly the West, where these latter books were accepted. Here was begun also the formation of lists of books which portions of the Christian world were inclined to regard as worthy of supreme attention. The Muratorian fragment is evidence of such lists. In this period began the translation of portions at least of the Christian writings, which we now call the New Testament, as well as portions of the Old Testament, into the Latin, Syriac, and Egyptian languages.

A.D.

200–300 The creative period is now in the past. It is a time of discussion and of using the books already in hand. The records of such activities do not furnish a large amount of data for the particular type of investigation we have been following. It is perhaps not too much to say that Christianity was beginning to assume the relatively stereotyped condition which it largely maintained during the Middle Ages.

300–500 Aside from the great work of Jerome, which resulted in the completion of a new Latin version of the Bible, the Vulgate, and the missionary enterprise which produced the Gothic and the Armenian versions, these two centuries continued the stereotyping process. Those three achievements, however, were sufficient to make the period notable.

500–1300 Through this long period of 800 years there was comparatively little to claim attention from the point of view of Bible growth. Before the year 700, apparently, there was an Ethiopic translation, in the following century one for the Arabic-speaking people, before the year 900 one for the Slavonic Christians, and within the next four centuries scattered translations, probably of only parts of the Bible, for outlying regions where missionary activities had taken the gospel message, particularly Britain and the Germanic districts. These movements largely cover the field of action.

1300–1400 The fourteenth century is the beginning of the period of new life. New learning in other directions led to new interest in the use of the Bible by the people. As an outgrowth there was the English translation of Wiclif, and versions for the French, the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Germans, the Bohemians, and probably others, all arising naturally at this period from the Latin Vulgate.

A.D.

1400–1500 A time chiefly of revising the work of the preceding century, but with some indications of new work in limited fields. This century is chiefly significant, however, for the invention of printing and the consequent increase of means for distributing the Bible to those who theretofore were unable to possess it.

1500–1600 The century of the Reformation and of the making of modern Bibles. New versions appeared for the Germans, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Hungarians, Russians, French, Italians, and English with Protestant origins, and counterversions for the Catholics of England, France, Italy, Germany, Holland, and Poland. Of prime significance were the New Testament of Luther in 1522 and that of Tindale in 1525, both translated from the Greek, with Old Testament versions from the Hebrew following; the separation of the apocryphal books from the others by Luther in 1534 and by Coverdale in 1535; the decree of the Council of Trent in 1546 making the Vulgate final authority for all Catholics; the Church of England article in 1571, depreciating the apocryphal books to a subordinate status; and the appearance of the English Catholic New Testament at Rheims in 1582.

After 1600 The seventeenth century carried along and brought to relative completion what had been accomplished in the sixteenth. At the beginning, 1607, appeared the great Italian version which bears the name of Diodati. Four years later was issued the classic English revision which, as the Authorized Version, has been almost the only English Protestant Bible most of the time since its publication. In 1648 the Westminster Assembly took the severe position of discarding the Apocrypha altogether, and that collection has gradually gone into disuse, so that few of the ordinary readers of the Bible have any

A.D.

After 1600 knowledge of its contents. The revision of most importance for English readers since the Authorized Version is that begun in England in 1870, the New Testament being issued in 1881, the Old in 1885, and the American edition in 1901. This last is in many respects the best Bible for the English student. With it should be used the Apocrypha, which was issued by the British revisers in 1895. The American revisers have not published any edition of the Apocrypha. The missionary versions and those issued by individual translators since 1600 are relatively numberless. Material showing their extent and variety should be available in a good public or reference library.

CHAPTER XV

WHAT TO READ FURTHER

This volume seems to be the first attempt to sketch the history of the growth of the Bible from its beginning to the present. Such an effort within a book of convenient size for everyday use inevitably raises many questions which it cannot answer, and suggests further reading.

There are many valuable books which, in one way or another, bear on the subject of study that this volume presents. A mere list of such works would be confusing rather than helpful. I offer, therefore, only a few titles of books and articles the reading of which is essential for filling out the sketch which I have drawn, if one desires to follow the study farther. They are works which will be found in any good public library if one cannot conveniently own all of them for himself. They are books too which direct to still wider reading for any who wish.

The Holy Scriptures According to the Masoretic Text; a New Translation. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917. Various prices.

This is the Hebrew Old Testament rendered into excellent and familiar English. No other volume so well shows the English reader what were the Scriptures of Jesus and Paul and what the Jews have used since the New Testament times.

The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate, Diligently Compared with the Hebrew, Greek, and Other Editions in Divers Languages. A good edition is that published by the John Murphy Co., Baltimore, at various prices.

This is the Douay Bible in its official form. Everyone who cares to understand the Bible, and especially to know the Catholic Bible and its variations from the ordinary Protestant Bibles, should own a copy of this version. It is essential for intelligent consideration of the unfortunate discussions which arise in Protestant and Catholic circles.

The Holy Bible . . . . Translated Out of the Original Tongues . . . . Newly edited by the American Revision Committee, A.D. 1901. This is the standard American edition of the Revised Version of the Bible as published by Thomas Nelson & Sons, of New York, with prices from less than one dollar up.

It is particularly valuable for its arrangement of the language in paragraphs, its presentation of the poetry of the Bible in such form as to reveal its poetic structure, and especially for the marginal notes and comments. The marginal references are also useful. I have followed this version regularly in making quotations from the Protestant Bible.

The Apocrypha, Translated Out of the Greek and Latin Tongues, being the version sent forth A.D. 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities, and revised A.D. 1894. Oxford: University Press.

In this small volume we have the standard English translation of the Apocrypha. It is important for access to the apocryphal books of the Old Testament and also for comparing these books as thus translated with the same writings as rendered in the Douay Bible.

Bennet, William H., and Adeney, Walter F. *Biblical Introduction.* New York: Whittaker, $2.00.

For a valuable work in relatively small compass yet covering the entire Bible this is perhaps the best.

Driver, Samuel R. *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.* 10th edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.75.

This is the standard work on the literary history of the Old Testament. It represents as nearly as a single work can the consensus of opinion of reverent scholarship on the subject of the Old Testament literature.

Gregory, Caspar René. *Canon and Text of the New Testament.* This also is a Scribner publication, belongs to the same series of works as that of Driver (The International Theological Library), and does for the New Testament much the same service as that of Driver for the Old. It is exceptionally valuable for its description of the way in which early Christian writings were made, copied, cared for, and used, and for its account of the papyrus and other materials which were employed.

Hastings, James, Editor. *A Dictionary of the Bible.* 5 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $30.00.

The following are the most important articles in this standard work as far as growth of the Bible is concerned: Apocalyptic Literature, Apocrypha, Apocryphal Gospels, Continental Versions, Old Testament Canon, New Testament Canon, Septuagint, Versions, Versions (English), Vulgate. Together these cover the entire field, though they are not so easy for the Bible-study beginner to use.

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